Seymour I. Schwartz

THE ANATOMIST, THE BARBER-SURGEON, AND THE KING

How the Accidental Death of Henry II of France Changed the World

VISIT...

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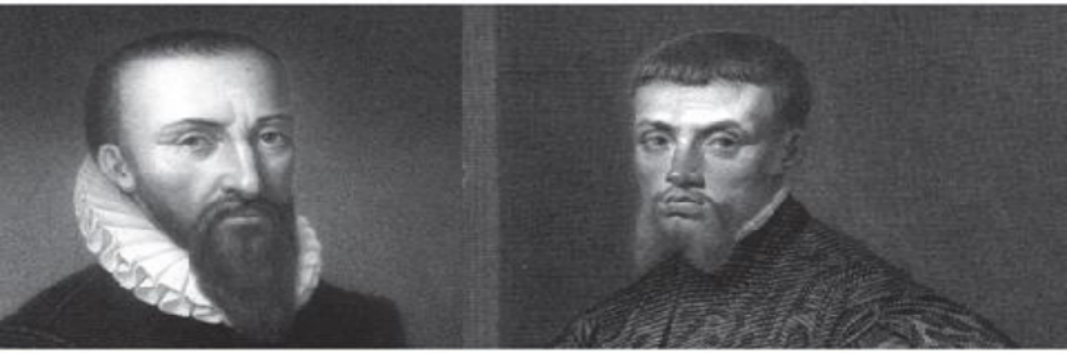

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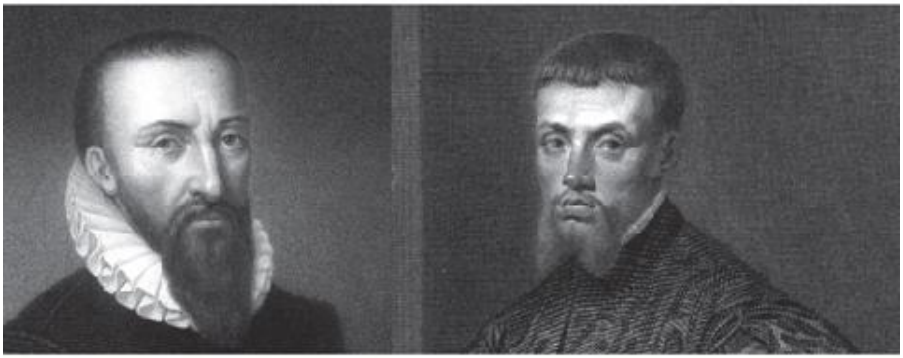

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INTRODUCTION

The chance viewing of a picture that was printed almost four and a half centuries ago provided the stimulus for this work. The woodcut is, of itself, significant because it represents one of the earliest examples of printed graphic journalism, the ancient forerunner of modern photojournalism. The specific print, *La mort du roy Henry deuxieme aux tournelles à Paris, le x. Julliet, 1559* [The death of King Henry II at the Tournelles at Paris, July 10, 1559], chronicled a transformative event. A descriptive narrative offered a definition of the individuals who were represented on the print, including the two most notable contributors to the renaissance of medicine standing side by side in consultation. Andreas Vesalius, "the father of modern anatomy," was within arm's length of Ambroise Paré, "the great surgical innovator." The two physicians, whose contributions advanced medicine and surgery and who had previously attended the wounded and sick soldiers of opposing armies, were brought together to attend the dying king of France.

The early print triggered several diverse pathways of investigation. One path focused on the lives and contributions of the two depicted physicians in order to determine the factors that led to their eminence and the call for their specific consultation related to the medical management of one of the most powerful figures among European royalty. Although there had been a previously asserted intellectual bond between the two medical innovators, in that Ambroise Paré had formally credited Andreas Vesalius's modernization of anatomy as indispensable to the former's transformation of surgery, the two achieved their respective reputations and renown despite distinctly different starting points. Similarly, the paths they took to achieve their individual recognition and those they would follow after their roles in the care of the dying French king were decidedly different.

Another distinct pathway of inquiry, unrelated to medicine yet also emanating from the ancient woodcut, focused on the central dying figure, Henry II, king of France. At the time of the graphically chronicled event, Henry II was effectively the reigning head of the House of Valois, one of the two royal dynasties that dominated sixteenth-century Europe. The House of Valois was opposed throughout that period by the Habsburgs, who were led sequentially by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and his son, King Philip II of Spain.

Henry II's deathbed scene was the consequence of an improbable

accident during a joust, a competitive demonstration that was characteristically performed at important occasions. The devastating accident interrupted the festivities of two related weddings, one of which was directed at relieving the polarization between Europe's two competing dynasties. And to add to the improbability associated with the accident, which resulted in the untimely demise of the French king, the death had been predicted, with extraordinary specificity, by two of Europe's most notable contemporary prognosticators well in advance of its occurrence. Also, just before the accident took place, more warnings and admonitions, accompanied by pleas to abort the joust, went unheeded.

The death of the central royal figure in the graphic journalistic print marked a watershed for European history in the sixteenth century. The period before the death of Henry II was replete with shifts of political power and dominance, wars, and changes in possession of kingdoms. That time span also witnessed the birth and early rise of the religious movement known as Protestantism, which transformed Europe and the world.

After the death of the king, the power of France was immediately and persistently weakened. Henry's three sons, who sequentially occupied the throne, were incapable of providing the required leadership or stature. The immediate successor, Francis II, was a sickly fifteen year old, who died after a reign of less than fifteen months. This led to the ascension of Francis II's younger brother, who became Charles IX at the age of ten. He reigned, as a youth, until he died at the age of twenty-four. This resulted in the coronation of the third of Henry II's sons, an effeminate twenty-two year old, noted for his laxity and penchant for frivolity, as Henry III. He would occupy the throne during a turbulent era until he was murdered in 1589, bringing to an end the rule of the House of Valois.

The void left by the death of Henry II, enhanced by the weaknesses of his successors, was filled by the expansive political presence of Henry II's wife, Catherine de' Medici. During the thirty years between the death of Henry II and the time of Catherine's death, she loomed as the dominant member of the French royalty, and guided the policy of the nation.

The second half of the sixteenth century in France and throughout Europe was dominated by the spread of Protestantism and consequent political unrest, which would impact directly on the lives of the two medical personalities, whose presence on the ancient print stimulated my initial inquiry.

There is also an intriguing recurrence of the number "two" throughout this history. The *two* most notable medical personalities of the Renaissance were brought together to care for Henry II, the *second*

son of the monarch he succeeded. The mortal blow, which Henry II sustained, occurred during the *second* time that the same two opponents met during the joust. The joust took place in celebration of *two* marriages, the more prestigious involving Phillip II of Spain as the groom. It was hoped that the marriage would reduce the tensions between the *two* dominant European dynasties. The tragedy was predicted by *two* notable prognosticators. The death of Henry II was a watershed that took place at a time that essentially divided the century into *two* halves.

Numerology was a popular fashion of the time and its adherents considered the number two to be the most feminine and underestimated of all numbers. Henry II's life from his youth until his death was significantly impacted by *two* women. Diane de Poitiers, who mentored him during his youth and became his mistress and confidant until the time of his death, was the individual to whom he dedicated his memorable joust. Her status was erased immediately by the mortal blow sustained by the king. The second woman, Henry II's wife Catherine de' Medici, ascended in importance.

The focal point of this history, the unusual and untimely death of a dominant leader, is considered against the background of wars for acquisition and control, and also a time of intense religious turmoil. In a century of change, during which the most powerful royal and military personalities in the history of Western civilization played their roles, diverse personalities also gained lasting recognition. Among the latter were the *two* men who led the movement of change in the realm of medicine. Their paths crossed in consultation as a king was dying from a wound inflicted during a tournament that transformed the world.

Chapter 1
BACKGROUND

In the first half of the sixteenth century two major contestants vied for dominance and control of Europe. In an era in which royalty ruled, these contestants were the two most encompassing royal houses in Europe. On one side, the Habsburgs were the overseers of Spain, the Low Countries (consisting of modern-day Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg), and the Holy Roman Empire constituted one side. The House of Valois of France led the opposing side. Power changes were brought about by victories on the battlefield and advantageous political alliances, which were often short-lived and frequently reversed.

The fifteenth century had come to a dramatic end for the European powers. The surrender of Granada by the Moors' leader Muhammad XII, or Boabdil as he was called, allowed for the amalgamation of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile on the Iberian peninsula, ruled by Ferdinand II of Aragon and his wife, Queen Isabella of Castile. Almost immediately after the stability of a unified Spain had been established, it followed the example of its neighbor Portugal to the west by sponsoring voyages of discovery. While Portugal focused on exploration of the coasts of Africa and the Indian Ocean, Spain sought to expand its global influence in a westerly direction. Under the sponsorship of the Spanish monarchs, in 1492, Christopher Columbus brought to Europe's attention a "New World," and established the first Spanish colony in the Western Hemisphere on the island of Hispaniola. In 1494, these two European countries that were engaged in expansion outside their own continent, following a decree by Pope Alexander VI, signed the Treaty of Tordesillas, which defined their territorial claims outside of Europe.

After initially focusing on discoveries of Caribbean islands and adjacent land on the northern shore of South America, Spain directed its attention to continental land in the New World. In 1519, Hernán Cortés led an expedition to Mexico, and conquered the Aztecs. In 1532, Francisco Pizarro's conquest of the Incas added Peru to Spain's growing empire. The wealth extracted from the mines in these acquisitions provided riches to the parent country and funded its military activities in Europe.

Although Portugal could claim primacy and was a significant participant in extra-European expansion, at the end of the fifteenth

century and early in the sixteenth, France joined Spain as one of the two major powers on the European continent. The population of Europe in 1500 was approximately seventy million, sixteen million of whom lived in France. Paris was the most populous city in Europe with an estimated 200,000 inhabitants, whereas Lyon, Rouen, Orléans and Toulous had between 40,000 and 70,000 inhabitants.[1] The geographic boundaries of France at that time were significantly different from those that exist today. Navarre, in the western Pyrenees, was a separate kingdom; the provinces of Cerdagne and Roussillon were under the control of Aragon; and Savoy, which included the region from Geneva to Nice, was independent. West of Geneva, Franche-Comté had its control passed from the French House of Bourbon to the Habsburgs, who also controlled Flanders and Artois; while the regions of Alsace and Lorraine were part of the Holy Roman Empire, which was a political entity in name only.[2] It was neither, holy, Roman, nor an empire, and had been established by King Otto I of Germany and Italy in 962 as an amalgamation of diverse, widely spread central European countries.

Frederic Baumgartner in his work *France in the Sixteenth Century*[3] suggests that a time beginning with the first Estates General meeting of all French social classes in 1484 and ending with the 1614 meeting of the same body better defines a distinctive period of French history. He designates this extended period as “the long sixteenth century,” the era of the Renaissance and Reformation.

During that time, the French king was all-powerful, claiming absolute authority from God. As such, he not only ruled the citizenry but was also the functional head of the French Church. The “Estates General,” a term that was used for the first time in 1484, was convened by the king to establish or change the policies of taxation and also to hear grievances. But, the initial Estates General, which was convened at Tours in 1484 had as its specific purpose the selection of a regent for thirteen-year-old Charles VIII, who had ascended to the throne after the death of his father, Louis XI, the previous year.

The same year that the Treaty of Tordesillas was signed (1494), Ferdinand I of Naples died, and his death prompted Ludovica Sforza, the ruler of the Duchy of Milan, to encourage Charles VIII of France to invade the Kingdom of Naples in order to gain an ally against the adjacent and antagonistic Republic of Venice. The justification for the action was Charles VIII’s claim to the title of king of Naples that had been passed down initially to his father from René of Anjou.[4]

After the French army moved through several Italian city-states and eventually sacked Naples, the League of Venice (the Holy League) was formed by Pope Alexander VI in 1495 to organize an opposition to the French. The league consisted of the pope; Ferdinand of Aragon,

who was also king of Sicily; the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I; the Republic of Venice; and Ludovico Sforza, who changed sides and joined the league when he realized that Charles VIII also had made a claim to Milan.[5] Charles VIII's army met the league's forces at the battle of Fornovo on July 6, 1495, and the French were forced to withdraw, abandoning their booty in Naples. Thus began the Italian Wars, which continued intermittently until 1559.

Fig. 1a. Map of Europe ca. 1500.

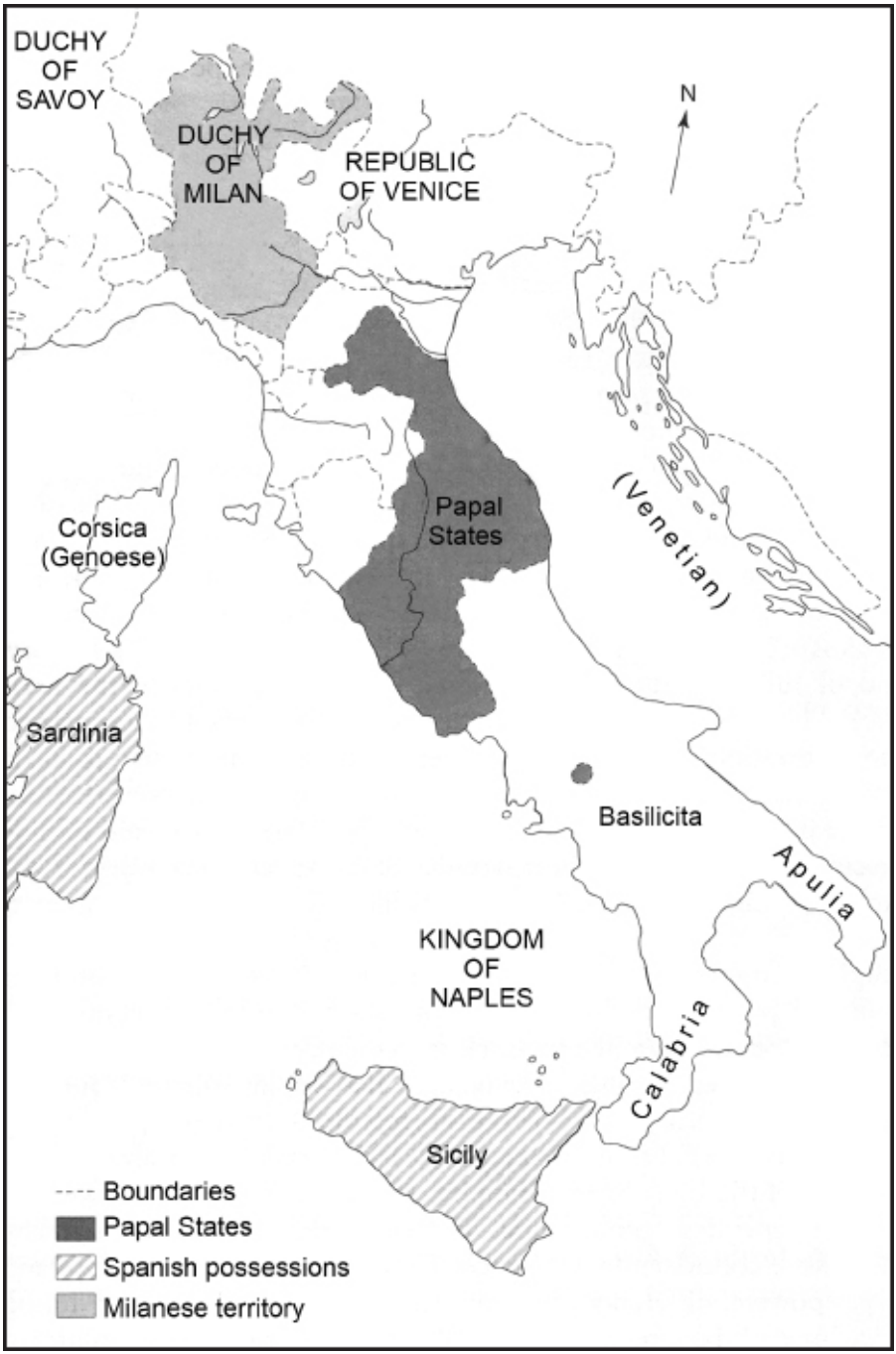


Fig. 1b. Italian republics during the Italian wars ca. 1550–1559.

In 1498, the reigning king of France, Charles VIII, hit his head on an arch on his way to watch a tennis match and died of his injuries. The next year, Charles's successor to the French throne, Louis XII, seized the Kingdom of Milan. In 1500, an agreement was reached

between the French king and King Ferdinand I of Spain to divide the Kingdom of Naples. A combined army of the two powers gained control of the land encompassed by that kingdom. But once control was established, disagreement arose over how it was to be partitioned. The alliance was disrupted, and war between France and Spain ensued. The Spaniards defeated the French in major battles in southern Italy, near the town of Cerignola in April 1503, and near the Garigliano River in December 1503. As a result, Spain added control of the Kingdom of Naples to its existing control of the Kingdom of Sicily.[6] Spain would maintain control of Italy until the early eighteenth century.

In 1508, the bellicose Pope Julius II formed the League of Cambrai, consisting of an incongruous combination of the papacy, Spain, France, and the Holy Roman Empire, in order to restrain the expansionist tendencies of the Republic of Venice. The next year, the forces of the league, led by Louis XII, overwhelmed the Venetian army at the battle of Agnadello. But, rather than retaining control of the territories of the vanquished republic, Louis returned with most of his army to France.[7] As evidence of the ephemeral nature of treaties made in the sixteenth century, a year later, the pope had a change of heart, and came to regard France as a greater threat. He, therefore, reversed his political preference and formed an alliance, which included Spain and England, against the French. The Holy League that was created in 1511 essentially isolated France diplomatically and erased French control of Geneva and the Duchy of Milan.

French troops defeated the Spanish army at the battle of Ravenna in 1512, but were forced to withdraw from Italy when the Duchy of Milan was invaded by the Swiss.[8] Also in 1512, Ferdinand I of Spain sent an army into Navarre and annexed that region to Castile. Although the Holy League emerged victorious on fields of battle, it was disrupted by an argument over the division of the conquered lands. The Republic of Venice and France became allies, and divided Lombardy. The remaining members of the Holy League defeated the French and Venetian armies at several ensuing battles, but the death of Pope Julius II created a vacuum of leadership, and the Holy League collapsed. As a result, France and the Republic of Venice assumed control of all of northern Italy.

Fig. 2. Francis I of France.

Twenty-year-old Francis I became king of France in 1515, succeeding his cousin and father-in-law, Louis XII, who had no male offspring. Francis, the son of Charles d' Angoulême and Louise of Savoy, had borne the title of Duke of Valois, and effectively continued the royal dynasty of Valois. The House of Valois-Orléans had been represented by Louis XII, and Francis I brought to the throne the House of Valois-Burgundy, which maintained its presence until 1589.

As part of the monarchy, Francis I inherited titular claims to the Duchy of Milan and the Kingdom of Naples. In order to gain control of those political states, shortly after becoming king, Francis led troops across the Alps. In 1515, he defeated a mainly Swiss army at the battle of Marignano that has the distinction of being the bloodiest encounter of the Italian Wars.[9] Having capitulated Milan, Francis was installed formally as Duke of Milan.

Because of the need to obtain Swiss mercenaries to maintain the

troop level of the French army, Francis entered into a series of negotiations with the Swiss cantons, which gave France the first right to recruit mercenaries from their territories and prohibited the Swiss from serving in enemy armies. In 1516, the Concordat of Bologna, which Francis entered into with Pope Leo X, resulted in a restructuring of the French Church by changing some of the minor elements in regard to the extent of royal governance, but confirmed the king's control over high ecclesiastical appointments throughout France.[10]

During the whole of Francis's reign, he remained the sworn enemy of Charles V, who had been born at Ghent in 1500. Charles's father, Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, died in 1506, and because Charles's mother, Juana, was insane, Charles inherited the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Artois, and Franche-Comté. When Charles's grandfather, Ferdinand II, died in 1516, Charles became king of Spain and added Aragon, Castile, Navarre, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spanish America to the already significant empire, which he had previously inherited from his father. The French Francis I's enmity toward the Spaniard Charles V was enhanced when the latter was selected to succeed his grandfather Maximilian I as the Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, a position that Francis had sought vigorously.

Fig. 3. Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor.

Francis I had previously signed an Anglo-French treaty with Henry VIII, who in 1518 was considered a lesser power. Francis I and Henry VIII were on display together in a spectacular pageant that took place near Calais, France, in 1520. Known as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," its aim was to emphasize the monarchs' camaraderie and parity.[11] Each king tried to outshine the other with clothes and tents that contained cloth of gold, accounting for the naming of the event. Highly decorated temporary palaces and chapels were constructed by both sides. Feasts, musical performances, and grand tournaments were included. The elegance was not matched by the political consequences, which left the political balance of power in Europe essentially unchanged.

In 1520, in the aftermath of Francis I's failure to cement a political alliance with England, Charles V signed the Treaty of

Gravelines with King Henry VIII, thereby aligning England against France; and, the following year, an army directed by an emboldened Charles V invaded French-controlled land in northern Italy.

In 1521, the double marriages between Louis, king of Hungary, and Charles V's sister, Mary, and between Charles's brother, Ferdinand, and Louis's sister augmented the Habsburg influence. In 1522, Charles V assigned the Austrian Habsburg lands to Ferdinand.

The polarization between the French House of Valois and the Habsburgs, led by Charles V, continued to dominate European politics during the first half of the sixteenth century and stimulated Francis I to escalate military activity. During the French invasion of Lombardy, Francis had his horse shot from under him, and he was captured at the battle of Pavia in 1525. In order to gain his own release, Francis negotiated for his young sons, Francis and Henry, to replace him as hostages. The two brothers spent four and a half years under arrest in Spain before returning home. France's humiliating defeat at Pavia was sealed by the Treaty of Madrid in 1526 in which France renounced its claims within Italy and ceded Burgundy to Charles V.

The treaty was rapidly repudiated by Francis I upon his release from captivity, and he then formed the League of Cognac, an alliance with the pope, the Duchy of Milan, the Republic of Venice, and the Republic of Florence. This stimulated Charles V to dispatch an army from Germany into Italy, and, during that successful incursion, Rome was sacked in 1527.[12]

The Treaty of Cambria, also known as the Peace of the Ladies because Louise of Savoy and Margaret of Austria served as negotiators between Charles V and Francis I, and the Peace of Barcelona, between Charles V and Pope Clement VII, both took place in 1529. The two treaties allowed France to retain Burgundy, but formalized Charles V's rights of possession in northern Italy and led to his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in Bologna in 1530.[13]

Charles, who was absent from the battlefield during the successes of his early reign, assumed a personal leadership role in his campaign against the Ottoman Turks. Beginning with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottomans advanced westward over the years. This activity culminated in a shattering victory over Hungarian troops in 1526. In 1532, when the Turks threatened Vienna, Charles V took command of the Christian army, and caused the forces led by Sultan Suleiman to retreat. Charles would continue his efforts against the Turks through 1541. During that period, Tunis and Algiers, which had fallen to Barbarossa, a corsair aligned with the sultan, were recaptured by Charles V's forces.

Francis I's second son, Henry, was born in April 1519. In keeping with

the practice of royalty at a time in which betrothal and marriage were political tactics, when Henry was four years old it was suggested that he become betrothed to the daughter of Queen Eleanor of Portugal. Subsequently, Princess Mary of England, who would become Queen Mary, was considered to be eminently suitable as a bride for Henry, but that marriage also never materialized.[14]

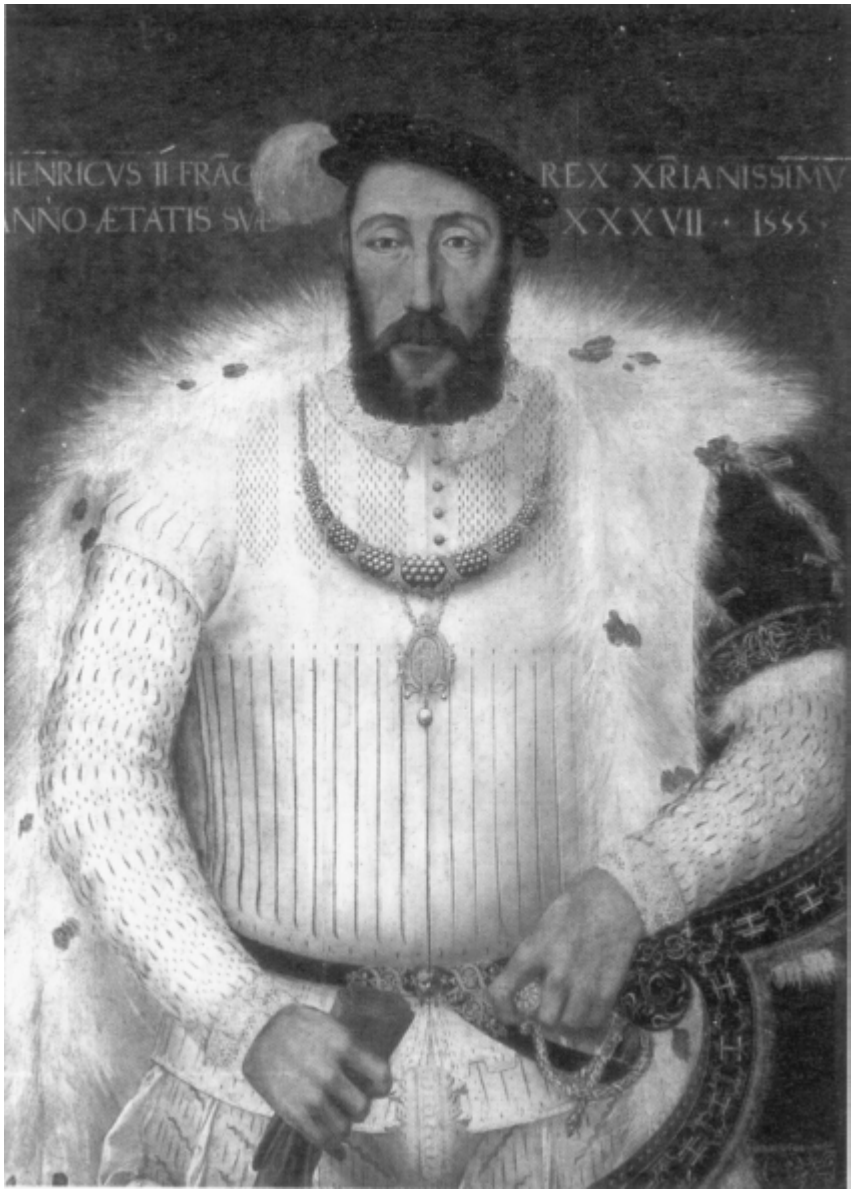


Fig. 4. Henry II of France

During a peaceful interval, Henry married Catherine de' Medici in Marseille. She was two weeks younger than her fourteen-year-old

husband to be at the time of their marriage on October 27, 1533. She was the daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, the grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Madeleine de La Tour d'Auvergne, a member of a prominent French noble family.

Fig. 5. Catherine de' Medici.

The marriage was arranged specifically for political purposes because of Catherine's relationship with Pope Clement VII, a cousin twice-removed but referred to as her uncle. The marriage contract included secret clauses guarantying the pope's support of the French conquest of Milan, Pisa, Parma, and Montferrat. Henry and his consort were ultimately to be given those lands to rule.[15] Slightly more than ten months after the ceremony, Pope Clement VII died, and the new Pope Paul III refused to recognize the previous obligation.

In 1536, Francis I's oldest son, also named Francis, died four days after he had taken ill at a tennis match. Henry became dauphin and first in line for the French throne. That same year, a temporary peace between the House of Valois and the Habsburgs ended when Charles V's son, Philip, inherited Milan after the Duke of Milan died. This

prompted Francis I to embark on a new military campaign. He allied himself with the Ottoman sultan, Suleiman I, and dispatched troops to capture Milan. The attempt failed. The Truce of Nice ended what is known as the Italian War of 1536–38, leaving France in possession of Turin, but there was no significant change in the control the major geographic segments of Italy.[16]

Troops that had been dispatched by Charles V entered Artois, crossed the Alps, and captured several forts in the Duchy of Milan. In 1537, the French army under the leadership of Anne (a male name pronounced Annay) de Montmorency conducted a scorched-earth policy in eastern Provence to counter Charles's invasion. This action reversed the previous gains of Charles's army, and prevented the enemy from crossing the Rhine River.

The next segment of the Italian Wars began in 1542. The conflict was ignited by the murder of two French diplomats near Milan, and lasted through 1546.[17] The French army initially attacked Luxembourg and Perpignan, which at the time were parts of Spain, but these efforts failed. The French did win a major victory near Turin at the battle of Ceresole in 1543,[18] but could not sustain the advantage. The next year, Charles V and Henry VIII of England, who had declared war on France, carried out a two-pronged attacked on France. Charles's troops advanced within a hundred miles of Paris. Once again, no permanent changes were sustained, and the resulting Peace (or Treaty) of Crépy (Crespy) included an obligation for France to aid Charles V against the Turks and also against the Lutherans, who were a growing presence in Habsburg lands.

After Francis I died in 1547, the twenty-eight-year-old Henry II succeeded his father to the throne of France. In order to prevent a marriage between Edward VI, who had succeeded Henry VIII to the throne of England, and Mary Stuart, the young queen of Scotland, Henry II had her brought to France in 1548 to be raised at the French court, and she was betrothed to Henry's oldest son, Francis.[19]

Because England continued to control the northern French area of Boulogne and Henry had personally commanded the army that had been defeated by the English in 1544, he attempted to redeem himself by sending a force against Boulogne in 1549, but the winter weather prevented any battle from taking place.

The last phase of the Italian Wars lasted from 1551 to 1559. In another reversal of alliance, on January 15, 1552, France ratified an agreement with German Lutherans, and declared war against Charles V and the Holy Roman Empire. After a successful offensive against Lorraine, which included the taking of Toul without a shot, and the capitulation of Metz to troops led by Henry II, the French army left

the Rhineland and returned to France following one of the most successful campaigns in French history.[20]

The subsequent French defense of Metz under the leadership of Francis de Guise is considered to be one of the greatest military accomplishments of the sixteenth century. In October 1552, Metz was under full siege by the imperial army that Charles V commanded from a litter on which he was carried. The French withstood all attacks, and Charles retreated to Brussels in January.

Henry failed to follow up on his victory. In early April 1553, Charles V launched an attack toward Picardy, and conquered the fortified town of Thérouanne. The imperial army continued on to Hesdin, a major fort in Artois, where victory was also achieved. Andreas Vesalius and Ambroise Paré may well have participated on opposing sides at that battle.

In 1553, at a time when the alliance between the French and the Ottoman Empire under Suleiman I was at its pinnacle, the conquest of Corsica, which was governed by the Republic of Genoa, succeeded. The combination of the Turkish fleet and French ground forces resulted in an easy victory that established French control of the island for the next six years. In retribution, however, Genoa changed its position from one of neutrality to an alliance with Charles V.[21]

In the spring of 1554, Henry II, with his focus on the Netherlands, sent three prongs of his army into Artois, Hainault, and Luxembourg. They achieved minor successes, but the path to Brussels was thwarted by Charles V's commander in the Netherlands, Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who would wed Henry's sister, Margaret, five years later.

In the fall of 1554, Cosimo de' Medici of Florence defeated French forces under Piero Strozzi at the battle of Marciano, and, the following spring, the Spanish took control of Siena. This loss was significant because Henry had regarded Siena as the focal point in his attempt to gain control of Italy.[22]

Also in 1554, Philip, eldest son of Charles V, married Mary Tudor, Queen of England. Philip was born in Valladolid, Spain, on May 21, 1527. On his sixteenth birthday, Philip had been designated by his father regent of Spain, while the responsibility for making decisions was assigned to Charles's ministers. Two years later, Philip married his cousin, Maria Manuela, princess of Portugal. She died at age seventeen in 1545 after she gave birth to Don Carlos of Spain, who would gain increasing notoriety throughout his brief life.

The marriage between the widower Philip and Mary Tudor had an apparent political basis in that it created an alliance between Spain and England against France. Mary Tudor was the daughter of Henry VIII of England and Katherine of Aragon. Mary was born on February

18, 1516, and was eleven years Philip's senior. She had been installed as the first queen of England in July 1553. She succeeded after the death of sixteen-year-old Edward VI, Henry VIII's only son, who had reigned for six years. Mary shared her husband's and also Charles V's strong commitment to Roman Catholicism. Throughout her reign, she remained a Catholic queen in a country that had been separated from the Roman Catholic Church twenty years before her coronation.

Fig. 6. Philip II of Spain.

Although Philip was displeased with the arrangement, the marriage took place in March 1554 with the Duke of Egmont standing in as proxy. Philip traveled to England and personally ratified the marriage in July. He left England in 1555 after a false pregnancy of Queen Mary. She died on November 17, 1558, during Philip's absence.

Philip had spent slightly more than a year in England as Queen's Consort.

Fig. 7. Mary Tudor, Queen of England.

On October 15, 1555, in Brussels, Charles formally abdicated, and retired to the monastery of Yuste in Extremadura, where he died on September 21, 1558. The Habsburg Empire was divided between Charles's younger brother, Ferdinand I of Austria, and Charles's son, Philip. Ferdinand ruled Austria as archduke for most of his life, and was also king of Bohemia, Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonia. Contrary to Charles V's desire but in accordance with the Habsburg Compact of 1551, Ferdinand succeeded Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor, a

position that he held until his death in 1564.

Fig. 8. Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor.

The control of the Spanish Empire, the Netherlands (the Low Countries), Naples, Sicily, Milan, and Franche-Comte passed on to Philip. Thus Philip became the ruler of the most extensive empire in the Western World. He resided in the Netherlands for the first four years of his reign.

Philip adapted to the role of commander in chief of the Spanish army as the Italian Wars continued in September 1556. At that time, the Duke of Alba led an invasion of Spanish troops into the Papal States, which were formally allied with France. By November, the Spanish forces took Ostia, Rome's access to the sea. France countered by dispatching about 13,000 troops, commanded by Francis de Guise, into Italy.[23] In June 1557, England issued a formal declaration of war against France. This gravely increased the threat to France in Picardy and the entire northern region.

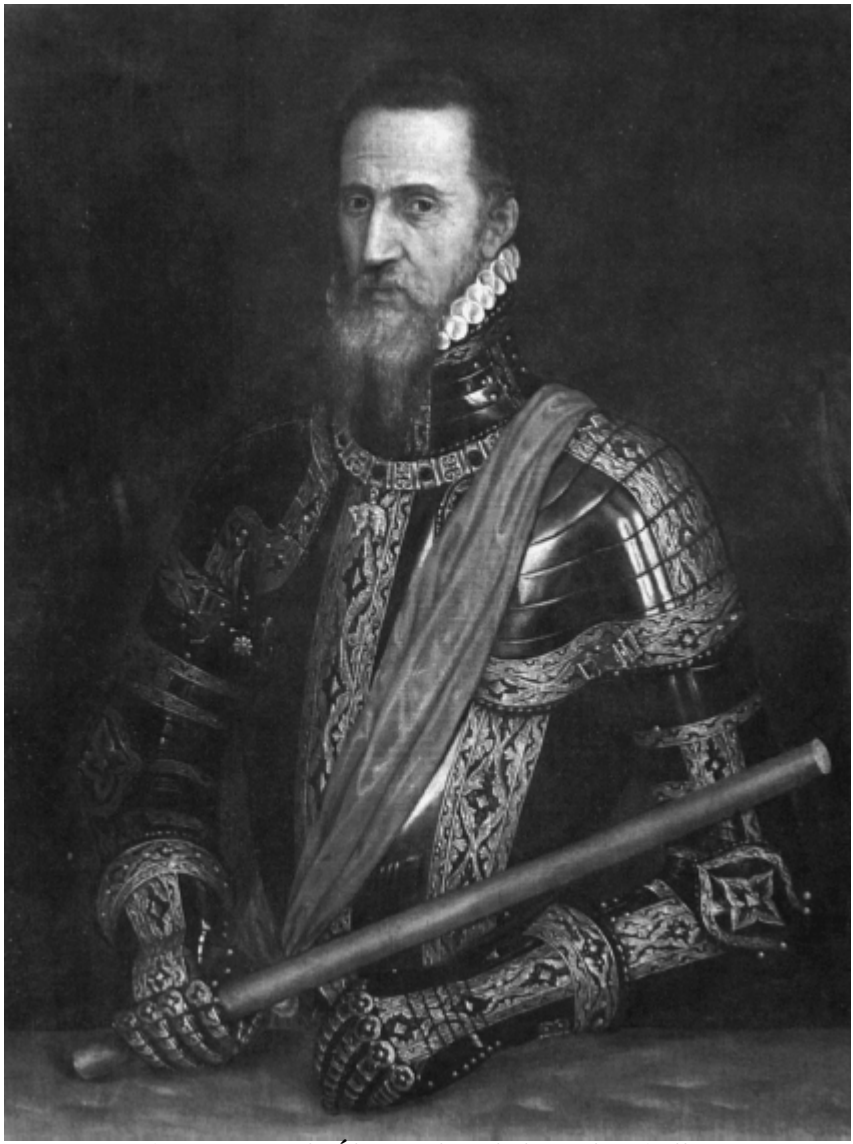


Fig. 9. Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba.

The French launched an attack against the border towns of the Netherlands; Saint-Quentin, which was located on the bank of the river Somme about seventy-five miles northeast of Paris, was selected as the crucial site to block the French advance and clear the way for the Spanish troops to march on Paris. In August of 1557, the battle at Saint-Quentin began. Troops led by Emmanuel Philibert and Lamoral of Egmont defeated the French led by Anne Duke of Montmorency in the most decisive battle of that century. The size of Philip's Spanish army that amassed on France's northern border was estimated to be about 47,000 men.[24] The French were seriously disadvantaged, having

only 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. Philip coordinated the logistics, including movements and supplies. Two weeks after the major encounter, Philip personally led an assault against the town, which was defended by a force led by Admiral Gaspard de Coligny. It was Philip's first battle experience.

The result at Saint Quentin was catastrophic for France, which suffered over 2,500 troops killed and more than 7,000 captured, including many nobles, who later would be ransomed. Montmorency was seriously injured and taken captive. The Duke of Savoy refused to permit Ambroise Paré, the most experienced of French military surgeons, to attend to Constable Anne de Montmorency, but did allow other French doctors to care for him.[25]

France's defeat at Saint-Quentin placed Paris in immediate jeopardy. The defense of Paris was speedily addressed by calling up new French troops and recalling those who were stationed in Italy.[26] Philip had hoped to march on Paris and to lay siege to the city, but the oncoming winter weather precluded such an advance.

As a counter to the humiliation suffered by the defeat at Saint Quentin, the French carried out a surprise attack on the English at Calais on January 1, 1558. The English capitulated on January 8, and Calais became a permanent part of France. (Calais had been in English hands since its capture by King Edward III in 1347 following the battle of Crécy.) In keeping with concern over England's posture, a French alliance with Scotland, which dated back to the 1548 marriage contract between Henry II's oldest son, Francis, and Mary Stuart, was formalized by their marriage on April 21, 1558, at a grand festival held at the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

After the battle of Saint Quentin, negotiations between Spain and France began at the Abbey of Cercamp in Picardy on October 15, 1558, with the Duchess of Lorraine, Charles V's niece, presiding. The French representatives were Charles of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine; Constable Anne de Montmorency; Marshal Saint André; Jean de Morvilliers, the bishop of Orléans; and Claude de l'Aubespine, secretary of finance. Spain was represented by the Duke of Alba; the prince of Orange; Ruy Gómez de Silva; Antoine Perrenot, bishop of Arras (later named cardinal de Granvelle); and Ulrich Viglius de Zuichem. The English ambassadors were Lord Arundel, the bishop of Ely, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton. The Count of Stropiano and president of Asti spoke for Savoy, and the dispossessed king of Navarre was also present.[27]

The first session lasted only two weeks. In addition to the establishment of ownership of contested land, two marriages were arranged. The first was to be between Henry II's oldest daughter, Elizabeth, and Philip II's son, Don Carlos; the second was to join the

Duke of Savoy to Henry's second daughter. The second session lasted from November 7 until the end of the month, and accomplished little.

The conference reconvened in a warmer and more spacious location at the palace of the bishop of Cambrai at Cateau-Cambrésis. In the interim, Queen Mary of England died on November 15, leaving Philip II a widower. Almost immediately, Philip's ambassador, the Duke of Feria, offered England's Queen Elizabeth the possibility of marriage to Philip. While she was considering the proposal, Elizabeth learned that a marriage alliance between Philip and Elizabeth of Valois was also under consideration.[28] Queen Elizabeth declined the Spanish king's proposal, and plans for marriage between Philip and Elizabeth of Valois proceeded. Elizabeth was to receive a dowry of 400,000 golden crowns from her father, Henry II.

Once it was established by treaty that the Duke of Savoy was to regain his dominions and that that France would divest itself of the Duchy of Savoy with the exception of Turin, Pignerol, Quiers, Villeneuve, and Chivas, Savoy represented a significant potential ally for the House of Valois. This was sufficient stimulus for the French monarch to initiate a proposal for a marriage between Henry II's sister, Margaret, and Emmanuel Philibert. It was immediately agreed upon. In the finalized treaty, it was also agreed that the marriage would be accompanied by a dowry of 300,000 crowns.

The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis,[29] signed on April 3, 1559, in which France renounced its claims in Italy, formally put an end to the war from which Spain emerged as the dominant European power. The border between Flanders and France was returned to the January 1557 status. Calais remained under French control, but was to be returned to England after eight years in exchange for 1.25 million livres (one livre = 20 shillings) if the English had not violated the truce during that interval. Calais eventually remained in French hands, however, because France claimed that England was in violation when it granted aid to the Huguenots. In Italy, the French returned Bresse, Savoy, and Piedmont to the Duke of Savoy. Spain received the rights to Milan and Naples.[30] Corsica was returned to Genoa.

The Italian Wars, which pitted the French House of Valois against the Habsburgs, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire, were characterized by multiple changes in leadership, changes of policy, changes in alliances, changes in control of political states and kingdoms, but, in the end, little change in the equilibrium of the major European powers. The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, which brought the final curtain down on the Italian Wars, provided the stimulus for the marriages that led to the celebratory event in which Henry II sustained his fatal blow.

* * *

During the same time period in which European politics were dominated by conflicts for control of territory by the two leading royal dynasties, another challenge arose and rapidly spread. It had a significant impact on both royal opponents and on all of European civilization. In time, the issue would be central to the death of the man who accidentally inflicted the fatal wound on Henry II, and also on the reputation and legacy of Catherine de' Medici.

The issue is incorporated in an inclusive term, which refers to an era of religious reform and conflict known as "the Reformation." The genesis of the movement to reform the Catholic Church was the product of the individual assertions of a highly regarded Catholic academic theologian in search of a personal understanding of religious life. His individual concern took root in the fertile soil of a German populace that was critical of the papacy.

The torch that ignited the fire of change was lit by Martin Luther, who, at the time of his incendiary expression of discontent with the Catholic Church, was an established "Catholic success story."[31] He was born in Saxony in 1483 into a successful peasant family, educated at the cathedral school in Magdeburg, and continued his education at the university at Erfurt. After a brief period of enrollment in law school, Luther entered the Augustine monastery at Erfurt. Initially, he was absorbed by a monastic life that included fasting and prayer, and he was ordained in 1507. A year later, Luther began teaching at the University of Wittenberg, where he had received a Bachelor's degree in biblical studies and a Doctor of Theology degree. His entire career was spent at that university.

Fig. 10. Martin Luther.

In 1516, Johann Tetzel had been commissioned by Bishop Albrecht of Brandenburg, the archbishop of Mainz and Magdesburg, to sell indulgences, which were remissions of temporal or purgatorial punishment still due after the guilt has been forgiven in the sacrament

of penance. The process of indulgences was based on the Catholic Church's tenet that faith alone was not sufficient, and that charity manifested by donating money to the church was an essential requirement.[32] Martin Luther wrote a letter to Bishop Albrecht on October 31, 1517, in which he presented his *Ninety-five Theses* as "Disputation of Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences." The same day, Luther nailed a copy of the *Ninety-five Theses* to the door of the Schlosskirche (Castle Church) in Wittenberg, which served as a community bulletin board.

Luther contended that the church was corrupt, and had swayed from the central truth of Christianity, namely, that God's act was by faith alone through his grace.[33] The *Ninety-five Theses* was rapidly translated from Latin into German, printed, and disseminated throughout Germany and the rest of Europe. In 1518, Luther spoke at the Augustine chapter in Heidelberg, and gathered significant support. The following year, he debated a Catholic critic Johannes Eck at which time Luther asserted that the pope did not have the authority to interpret Scripture, which, in itself, was the ultimate authority, i.e., *sola scriptura* (scripture, of itself) was authoritative. In 1520, Luther published three works: *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church,* and *On the Freedom of a Christian.*

Pope Leo X initially dismissed Martin Luther as "a drunken German,"[34] but when Luther refused to recant his writings, he was excommunicated on January 3, 1521, in a papal bull. Charles V, who had succeeded his grandfather, Maximilian, as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in June 1519, traveled to Worms, a small town on the Rhine River, to meet the German princes at the Diet (general assembly) in April 1521. At the insistence of the princes, Charles V, a devout Catholic, listened to Martin Luther's rebuttal of the charge of heresy. Luther refused to recant, but Prince Frederick III, Elector of Saxony, had attained a prior agreement to promise Luther safe passage, thereby avoiding imprisonment or punishment.

Charles V declared Martin Luther an outlaw, requiring his arrest and making it a crime to provide him with food or shelter. Frederick III, however, led Luther away to the Wartburg Castle at Eisenach, where Luther lived incognito for eleven months. During his stay at the castle, Luther continued to express his thoughts and proposals in his writings, and began a new translation of the Bible from Latin into German. The translation is considered to be his greatest literary achievement, and was a critical factor in the establishment of the modern German language.

While Luther was absent from his post at Wittenberg University, his reform continued to be nurtured and expanded by academic

colleagues who introduced a new German Mass. More significantly, the movement spread throughout the clergy and laity in many German towns, where there was a profound resentment of the Catholic Church. The fees charged by the clergy and the financial privileges that they enjoyed were considered to be scandalous. These factors enhanced the general appeal of Luther's thesis of "Justification by Faith Alone," and a return to the basic influence of Scripture.

Luther returned to Wittenberg in 1522 and continued his prolific writing. He married a Cistercian nun, Katharina von Bora, in 1525, thereby demonstrating his personal condemnation of celibacy for the clergy. The first edition of his New Testament translation into German was published in 1525, with a later edition that included the entire text of the Bible with contributions by several scholars published in 1530.

At about that time, as a consequence of unfavorable economic circumstances and displeasure with the dominant Catholic Church, the Peasant's War broke out. Confined mainly to the rural areas of central and southern Germany, the peasantry was engaged in a series of bloody encounters against both church and temporal authorities, culminating in the slaughter of the battle of Frankenhausen, at which the peasants were defeated by the nobility. In a work titled *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants*, which was published after the battle, Luther denounced the peasant movement because of the enormous bloodshed it caused: "I think there is not a devil left in hell; they have all gone into the peasants. Their raving has gone beyond all measures."[35]

The princes of Germany's free cities adopted the principles proposed by Martin Luther. In 1529, these princes, who had a strong vested interest because their wealth was dependent on the peasants' productivity, issued a formal "Protestation" against Charles V's condemnation of Luther, accounting for the origin of the word "Protestant." A year later, the Confession of Augsburg codified the tenets of a new form of Christianity.[36] In 1531, the princes of the independent cities in Germany formed the Schmalkaldic League consisting of over eighty thousand troops and artillery. Five years later, they would claim a military victory over the forces of the Holy Roman Empire.[37]

In 1547, however, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, with the armies of Italy and Hungary, decisively defeated the Schmalkaldic League's army at Mühlberg.[38] As a proposed resolution of the religious problem, the Augsburg Interim asserted that the Lutherans were allowed to keep their communion and married clergy, but otherwise the dicta of Catholicism were to be followed. The Augsburg Interim proved to be unenforceable, and resistance to Catholicism continued.

Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century in Germany, which witnessed the death of Martin Luther in 1546, the Protestants spread their influence and consolidated their position with the people.

Outside Germany, during the same time frame, there was lesser, but, occasionally, meaningful incursions on the part of the reform movement. In those instances in which the Protestant church eventually became dominant, the sentiments of the ruling powers were particularly sympathetic to the change. The most immediate reception of change occurred in Switzerland, based on geographic proximity, social and political similarity, and the absence of a language barrier. In 1525, the Zurich town council abolished the mass, and the Zurich Reformation rapidly spread to Bern and Basel.[39] The Catholic cantons engaged in warfare against Reformation forces, and the success of the Catholic cantons ensured their right to religious choice.

Although countries in Eastern Europe, including Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia (Czech Republic), as a result of the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), eventually became Catholic countries, Luther's doctrines initially found fertile ground. For a brief period the Protestant churches were not only tolerated but dominated European culture.

In Scandinavia, Lutheranism rapidly took hold, in large part due to the dictates of their respective monarchs. In Denmark, after a religious war in 1533–1534 to determine the right to succession, Frederik I established a Lutheran state church in 1537.[40] In Sweden, two years later, parliament granted Gustavas Vasa control over the church. In 1571, a Protestant Church Order was formally adopted.[41]

In England, the Reformation was influenced by Henry VIII's personal affairs. In 1521, he had strongly defended the Catholic Church against Martin Luther's heresy, thereby earning the title, Defender of the Faith, from the papacy. But, in 1532, after Henry was refused release from his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, Parliament appointed him Supreme Head of the Church, and erased all papal influence. After Henry VIII's death in 1547, Protestantism underwent sequential periods of changing dominance. During the reign of Edward VI (1547–1553), there was a distinct attempt to establish a dominant Protestant Church. From 1553 to 1558, Queen Mary's Catholicism and her alignment with her husband, Philip II of Spain, transformed Protestantism to a persecuted entity with little impact. The accession of Elizabeth resulted in a final reversal in favor of Protestantism and a permanent removal of Catholic dominance.

In the countries most firmly under the control of Charles V and the Habsburgs, i.e., the Netherlands and Spain, decisive actions successfully inhibited any spread of Luther's influence. The preaching,

printing, and possession of Lutheran literature constituted a capital crime in these countries, which maintained a strong endorsement of the Catholic Church. In the city states of northern Italy, the Reformation never established firm roots.

According to humanist thinker and Renaissance cleric Desiderius Erasmus, France during the early part of the sixteenth century was the purest area of Christendom, free of heretics and Jews.[42] Beginning in the Middle Ages, French kings were not only crowned but also consecrated as they assumed the throne. The ceremony emphasized the liturgical aspect and took place in the Cathedral of Rheims with the Bishop of Rheims officiating. The king's oath included an ecclesiastical portion to defend the church. This actually took precedence over the oath to defend the kingdom. The king was anointed with sanctified oil "in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."[43]

In the 1516 Concordat of Bologna, in order to gain support from the papacy during the wars against the Habsburgs, Francis I negated the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438, which allowed bishops and abbots, independent of royal and papal control, to nominate bishops, archbishops, and abbots. By the concordat, the king gained the right to make all appointments subject to the pope's right of veto. This, in effect, increased the king's power because the pope rarely interfered.[44] The consequence was that appointments by both Francis I and Henry II were used for patronage rather than spirituality.

Shortly after Luther's books appeared in France, the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne, in 1521, censured Luther's writings as heretical and ordered a crackdown on sales. There was an increase in the number of heresy cases that reached the courts, but they were not necessarily ascribed to Protestantism. Francis I denounced the execution of religious dissenters, but gave Parliament the power to restrict "that damned heretical Lutheran sect."[45]

On October 18, 1534, the Day of the Placards occurred. A series of printed broadsides were posted at a number of vantage points attacking the concept of the Eucharist and denying the real presence of Christ in the ritual.[46] In order to counter the attack, on January 21, 1535, Francis I participated in a religious procession in Paris that affirmed the faith. The day's events included activities of the faculty of the university, law courts, business men, and the guilds, and the execution of six heretics.[47] There was a small but real growth in the Protestant movement in urban areas.

The most influential Frenchman in the early evolution of Protestantism was Jean (John) Calvin. He was born in Picardy in 1509 and educated at the University of Paris. At an early age he became involved with Erasmian humanists and evangelicals. In 1535, he fled

Paris intending to go to Basel but eventually settled in Geneva, where most of his influential writing was produced. He died in 1564.

The Reformed Church, which was established in Geneva in 1542,[48] was independent of control by the hostile princes, and had the laity as a major and influential voice. In 1541, the publication of a French translation of Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (The Institutes of Christian Religion) added a new stimulus for French Protestantism. Possession of the work was declared a crime that mandated execution. In 1545, King Francis I targeted heretics in Provence, and later arrested and executed members of the Protestant Church of Meaux when it was organized in 1546.[49] That church was not sustained, and the first permanent Protestant church was organized at Poitiers in 1554. One year later a church was formed in Paris.[50]

When Henry II became king of France in 1547, he created a new criminal chamber in the Parlement of Paris to hear heresy cases. The chamber, named the Second Tournelle, condemned thirty-seven citizens to death, and penalized or exiled over one hundred individuals before it was shut down in 1550.[51] In 1551, the Edict of Châteaubriand declared heresy to be sedition, and banned importing books from Geneva and indeed any contact with that city. Henry's attitude toward Julius III's papacy, however, was openly hostile. The French Church was presided over by the king, and was free to make its own decisions. When Paul IV, a bitter foe of Spain, was elected pope in 1555, the political relationship between France and the papacy improved.

By 1555, there was increasing concern with the spread of Protestantism in France. On July 24, 1557, Henry issued a decree confirming Paul IV's papal bull, which established an Inquisition in France. It was later rescinded in 1558.[52] In September 1557, in what has come to be known as the "Affair of the rue St-Jacques," 400 people attended Protestant services. Over 100 were arrested and 8 were executed. Six months later, 10,000 Protestants assembled on the playing fields of the university to protest that event.[53]

The focus on the battle of Saint Quentin in 1557, the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, and finally the wedding celebration that ended with the fatal joust of Henry II detracted from efforts against the Reformation in France toward the end of his reign. In 1559 before the weddings, Henry had planned a military expedition against the Protestants, but it was never carried out.[54] Henry's reputation at the time of his death was that of a determined persecutor of the French Protestants, who were called Huguenots. In spite of that, the French Protestant movement grew.

Chapter 2
WORDS OF WARNING

The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis set the stage for the two royal weddings, which served as the stimulus for the celebratory joust that would result in the death of Henry II. As the time for the celebration drew near, little consideration was given to prognostications, which had been issued. Not only were the sources highly regarded, but the predictions had specificities that would make them particularly pertinent for the time and the event. The fact that the predictions could be interpreted as being amazingly to the point added to the improbability of the circumstances that led to Henry's death.

It is pointed out in *The Fated Sky*[1] that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were appropriately called "the golden age of astrology." Astrology, which is literally the "science" or doctrine of the stars, now refers to the occult or pseudoscience that claims to foretell the future by studying the alleged influences of the relative positions of the sun, moon, planets, and stars on human affairs.

For five thousand years, from the age of ancient Sumeria to the present time, the heavenly bodies had been studied and analyzed by numerous civilizations as a vehicle to predict the course and destiny of individuals, communities, countries, and life on planet earth. The ancient Egyptians and the Greco-Roman societies evidenced broad acceptance of astrology. For them, the stars and planets offered signs of the impending future.

During the Dark Ages of the first Christian millennium, astrology almost completely disappeared from Western Europe. But, at the same time, in the Arab world everything was thought to be under the influence of the heavenly bodies. As the Renaissance evolved and spread, a resurgence of astrology became widespread throughout the European continent.

Albertus Magnus of Cologne (ca. 1206–1280), who was canonized as Saint Albert the Great, preached the coexistence of science and religion. He wrote: "Astrologers are able to foretell the future because people are used to follow their urges and passions, and consequently their actions are determined by astral influences. This enables astrologers to 'prophesize' events which depend on the actions of the multitude."[2]

The more highly regarded astrologers relied on the structuring of horoscopes (observations of the stars and the configuration of planets

at a certain moment, such as birth) and other horary (specialized horoscopic) charts to resolve questions related to the future. The intricate process of chart-making incorporated mathematics, geometry, astronomy, trigonometry, and other "scientific" calculations of the period. In addition to the incorporation of those sciences, the practices of astrology and medicine were often intertwined.

Philippus Theophrastus Aureolus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493–1541), who assumed the title "Paracelsus" to suggest that he was the equal of the great Roman medical author Celsus, wore the mantles of medicine, astrology, and alchemy simultaneously as one of the most recognizable medical personalities during the first half of the sixteenth century. He regarded astrology as the most perfect example of applied mathematical science.

Paracelsus was ambivalent about trusting the stars, and cautioned against this in his astrological calendars. He did, however, advocate for the recognition of astral influence, as evidenced by his statement, "There is no governing power but predestination. . . . In order to give you an example of what I mean, know that the Sun governs the crown, the scepter, the throne, and all royal majesty and power, all glory, wealth, treasures, decorum, and vanity of this world."[3]

Astrology enjoyed a pervasive acceptance in Italy during the Renaissance. The individuals who could afford the expense had horoscopes made of all their family members, including the young children. Astrology was accepted by some of the leading scientists, and was embraced, particularly, by the higher strata of society. Those in positions of leadership provided liberal patronage.

Cosimo de' Medici (Cosimo the Elder), the first of the Medici political dynasty and the ruler of Florence during the Renaissance in the latter half of the fifteenth century, selected Marsilio Ficino to head the newly established Platonic Academy of Florence.[4] Ficino was highly regarded as a philosopher, theologian, physician, and astrologer. As an ordained priest and canon of the Cathedral of Florence, he asserted that there was no contradiction between religious conviction and astrology, alchemy, and magic.

Ficino, who introduced the term "Platonic love" in reference to a union characterized by chastity, was a devotee of Plato and Socrates. Plato had regarded the planets as endowed with divine authority. He stated that those who could read the stars were able determine the future. Ficino's reputation was enhanced when he accurately predicted that Giovanni de' Medici, the great-grandson of his patron, would ascend to the papal throne. That prediction came true in 1513 when Giovanni was crowned Pope Leo X.[5] He was the last non-priest to be elected pope, and was in office when Martin Luther posted his famous ninety-five theses on the door of the Church of All Saints at

Wittenberg on October 31, 1517.

The Medicis' reliance on astrology continued into the sixteenth century. Catherine de' Medici included the famous astrologer, astronomer, and mathematician Luca Gaurico (Lucius Gauricus) (1476–1558) in her court. Luca Gaurico, who also served several popes, attained popular recognition, which is attested to by the fact that his Latin family name is attached to a crater on the moon and that his name in its entirety continues to identify an avenue in the business district of Rome, Italy.

Fig. 11. Luca Gaurico.

Gaurico's fame was enhanced by his prediction that Catherine de' Medici's uncle, Giulio de' Medici, who served as Pope Clement VII from 1523 through 1534, would participate in significant political battles and that he would father many offspring. Political battles did characterize Clement VII's papacy. As to the second element of the prediction, he is said to have produced twenty-nine illegitimate offspring.[6]

Gaurico's success in predicting the ascension and activities of popes continued with Clement VII's successor. Gaurico foretold that Alessandro Farenese would ascend to the papacy, which he did as Paul III, who served from 1534 to 1549.[7] Gaurico became the unofficial astrologer to that pope. He was knighted and was made bishop of Giffoni in the province of Salerno. Gaurico's ultimate prediction related to the papacy was to anticipate the terminal illness and date of death of Pope Paul III. Gaurico also predicted the devastating defeat of Francis I of France at the battle of Pavia in 1525, the death of the Duke of Bourbon at the wall of Rome when it was sacked in 1527, and the fall of Giovanni Bentivolio, the tyrant of Bologna.[8]

In 1536, after Henry of Valois was elevated to the position of heir apparent to the throne of France, Catherine de' Medici was prompted to seek Gaurico's prediction of her husband's future. Gaurico's report, which evoked great concern, consisted of the prediction that Henry would become king, and that his regency would be marked by a duel that would end his reign and result in his death. The specifics of the blinding and ultimately fatal head wound were detailed in the prediction.

After Henry rose to the throne, at Catherine's request, Gaurico penned a warning in the form of a letter that King Henry II received on February 5, 1556. The letter is mentioned in the writings of Henry's court chronicler, Brantôme, and in *Histoire particulière de la Cour de Henri II* (The Particular History of the Court of Henry II) by Claude de l'Aubespine, who translated the letter into French from Latin for the king. Gaurico's letter warned Henry II "to avoid all single combat in an enclosed place, especially near his forty-first year, for in that period of his life he was menaced by a wound in his head which might rapidly result in blindness and even in death."[9]

After he read the letter, the king is supposed to have remarked to Anne de Montmorency, the Grand Constable of France: "I care not if my death be in that manner more than in any other. I would even prefer it, to die by the hand of whoever it might be, so long as he was brave and valiant, and that I kept my honour."[10] Gaurico died one year before his prediction, the earliest prognostication related to Henry's fatal encounter, came true.

History generally focuses on the prediction of the mortal

wounding of Henry II that was issued by the most notable French astrologer. That prediction is included among the writings of Nostradamus, whose name had become synonymous with successful prognostication.

Nostradamus's predictions were made in France, which accepted and relied upon astrology during the Renaissance. Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420) was a French theologian, astrologer, and a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. D'Ailly indicated that human history was influenced by planetary conjunctions. He agreed with the medieval astrologers that such planetary conjunctions were always associated with significant changes in the world. Christopher Columbus considered D'Ailly's *Imago Mundi* (Image of the World), which suggested that the end of the world was near and that heathens should be converted to Christ, as one of the justifications for his voyages of exploration. Columbus's personally annotated copy of *Imago Mundi* is preserved in a library in Seville.

Nostradamus, a name that evolved from Michel de Nostredame, was born on December 14, 1503 (of the contemporary Julian calendar, December 23 on the Gregorian calendar). His ancestors were Sephardic Jews who settled in Provence, France. In 1501, Louis XII issued an edict mandating that all Jews either become baptized or leave Provence within three months. Michel's father converted, thus Michel was born a Catholic and was baptized. Throughout his life, Nostradamus held to the Catholic faith and religion. He had his early education at the home of his paternal grandfather, a well-traveled physician. After the old man died, Michel studied the liberal arts in Avignon, and then proceeded to study medicine at the University of Montpellier. He obtained his license to practice in 1525.

Fig. 12. Michel Nostradamus.

He cared for plague victims in Montpellier, moved on to Narbonne for a while before returning to Montpellier to receive his doctorate in 1529. (At the time one could receive a license to practice by taking some courses prior to completing the formal doctorate.) For the next seventeen years, Nostradamus traveled and established short-term residences in several French cities, during which time he built a lucrative medical practice and cosmetics trade. During the early part of that period, he married and had two children, but after a brief idyllic three years of marriage he lost his entire family to an outbreak of what was probably the plague.

In 1546 or possibly 1547, Nostradamus established what was to be his home for the remainder of his life in the small town of Salon, located between Marseilles, Aix, Arles, and Avignon. He married a rich widow with whom he would have three boys and also three girls,

all of whom survived him.

Nostradamus's career in prognostication began around 1550. At that time he published his first almanac, which contained prophesies for only one year. During the period that is associated with the prolific publication of his many prognostications, Nostradamus also maintained a lucrative career in producing cosmetics, prescriptions, preservatives, and translations of literary pieces. Nostradamus served in some capacity as physician and astrologer to three French kings: Henry II (1547–1559), Francis II (1559–1560), and Charles IX (1560–1574). Nostradamus died in Salon in 1566.

His most notable achievement was *Centuries,* the first of several editions of which was published in 1555. It contains prophesies that pertained to events and occurrences that were claimed to occur as late as the year 3797, over two thousand years in the future. Each edition contains one hundred quatrains. They include many four-line verses, which have been interpreted retrospectively as predictive of important events. These include the rise to power in England of Oliver Cromwell, the Great Fire of London in 1666, the birth of Napoleon, the Crimean War, the twentieth-century wars, and the rise of Adolf Hitler.

At the time that the predictions appeared in print, the public reaction to Nostradamus's writings was mixed. The learned and the masses were highly critical and frequently vilified the author. By contrast, the leisure class and particularly the royalty were highly receptive. Among the devotees was Queen Catherine de' Medici, who invited Nostradamus to the court at Saint Germain-en-Laye, located outside of Paris. The expressed purpose of the visit was to proceed to Blois and cast the horoscopes of the royal children.

His prediction concerning the lives of Catherine's offspring was dire.

> That boy of thirteen who shall one day be Francis II, who shall be married while still a child to that other unhappy child Mary Stuart, and who shall die miserably after one year of reign; that girl of eleven, destined also to die young, the child-wife of gloomy old Philip of Spain; that girl of nine who will die in her twenties as Duchess of Lorraine; that melancholy boy of six in whose staring eyes shall one day be reflected the fires of St. Bartholomew; that boy who shall twice be king, but in both kingdoms be unhappy, and whose body will be pierced by the assassin's dagger; and that other boy of two, François, Duc d'Alençon, the perpetual *Malcontent*, titular sovereign of the Netherlands, suitor of Queen Elizabeth, laughing stock of Europe—what a nursery to prophesy for! The only child with any soundness and

sweetness in the whole brood was the tempestuous Margaret, then a girl of four, who was to be married to the enemy, Henry of Navarre, to be repudiated by him for her adulteries, to outlive them all and to go down to history as the raffish, ragtaggle but not unlovable *Reine Margot.*[11]

Apparently, Nostradamus did not relate these detailed predictions to Catherine de' Medici, and only informed her that all her sons would become kings. Catherine constantly regarded that prediction to be accurate, and she maintained confidence in Nostradamus.

Three years before Henry II's fatal accident, Nostradamus, had an encounter with French royalty in Paris. His visit with Catherine de' Medici lasted for a long period of time, and he spent a lesser period with Henry II. At the latter meeting, it is likely that the pertinent quatrain 35 in Nostradamus's 1555 *Century I* came into the discussion. If it were specifically applicable to Henry II, Nostradamus's prediction offered reinforcement to the warning that previously had been received from Gaurico.

The writing, which specifically related to Henry II's tragedy, is one of the most oft-referred to of Nostradamus's prognostications. It reads:

Le Lion jeune le vieux surmontera
En champ bellique par singulier duel:
Dans cage d'or les yeux lui crèvera:
Deux classes une, puis mourir, mort cruelle.

Translated:

The young lion will overcome the old one
On the field of battle in single combat:
He will put out his eyes in a cage of gold:
Two fleets [interpreted as wounds or fractures] one, then to die a cruel death.

The correlations between the prediction and the subsequent event were based on several facts: (1) the "young lion," Captain Gabriel de Lorges, Count of Montgomery, at the time he inflicted the fatal wound, was almost twenty years younger than the king; (2) the joust represented "a field of battle of single combat"; (3) one combatant "put out the eye" of the other; (4) the "cage of gold" represented the gilded helmet with visor worn by the king; (5) the two wounds were one to the eye and the other to the brain. Henry II was not specifically named but was identifiable by his gold jousting helmet and his golden lion crest.[12]

Warnings, one in Latin by Gaurico and the other in French by Nostradamus, could have been brought up for consideration before Henry's fatal joust, given the brief period that elapsed between the predictions and the event. Also, the night before the event, Catherine de' Medici had a troubling dream, which prompted her to beg Henry not to participate in a joust.[13]

On the fateful third day of the tournament, Marshall Vieilleville, who was given the honor of equipping the king for his encounters, warned the king of the portents of disaster. According to Brantôme, Vielleville, while preparing Henry for the fatal joust, implored him not to proceed and said, "I swear to God, Sire, that for more than three nights, I have nothing but dreams that some mishap was about to befall you, and that this last joust would be fatal."[14] It remains a matter of conjecture as to whether they were considered at all, or if they were considered and discounted as being frivolous.

Fig. 13. Nostradamus, Catherine de' Medici, and young Henry of Navarre (October18, 1564).

In 1560, Catherine met Nostradamus again at Blois, at which time he predicted that her son Henry of Anjou would one day become king of France. Also, Nostradamus remarked to the attendants of Henry of Navarre, who, at the time, was a young page in the royal entourage, that their master would one day be king of France and Navarre.[15]

Five years after the death of Henry II, in 1564, as Queen Mother to Charles IX, during a Royal Progress throughout France, Catherine

de' Medici visited Nostradamus in his home town of Salon-de Crau. During that royal visit, Nostradamus predicted that Constable Montmorency, who at the time was in his seventies, would predecease Charles IX. At the time, Nostradamus was made a royal councilor and king's physician.16

Chapter 3

SETTING THE STAGE

CELEBRANTS AND CELEBRATION

The atmosphere of Europe in 1559 was captured in an allegorical oil-on-wood panel work of art painted that year by Peter Breugel the Elder titled *The Fight between Carnival and Lent.* The scene depicts an annual festival that took place in Flemish villages in the week before Lent. The painting emphasizes the contrast between the two sides of that century's contemporary life. On one side, there is the church and well-behaved youths playing in front of that structure. On the other side, there is a tavern with a group of beer drinkers engaged in revelry in the foreground. The central combatants are "Carnival" and "Lent."

Fig. 14. *The Fight between Carnival and Lent* by Peter Breugel the Elder, 1559.

Lent is represented by a thin woman in a cart with a baker's shovel as her weapon. Her foe is Carnival, a fat man, who, during the actual celebrations, led a parade of citizens throughout the town. To culminate the event, Carnival presides over a feast characterized by gorging and debauchery.

In the painting, a large cask, on which Carnival rides, substitutes

for a sturdy steed. The figure's headdress, consisting of a large pie, is the equivalent of a metal helmet, while the tilting lance has been replaced by a long spit bearing a pig's head. Thus, the central figure represents a comedic jouster. It is ironic that an artistically depicted joust, which was used to bring into focus diametrically opposed elements of society, was completed the same year in which an actual joust would transform the European balance of power.

The stage for the marital celebration, which included the fatal joust, had been set with formality by a diplomatic document. The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis of April 1559, which was finalized about one and a half years after the French forces were devastated at the battle of Saint Quentin, specifically called for the two marriages that were to be celebrated. Henry II's fourteen-year-old daughter, Elizabeth, was to marry the widower, Philip II of Spain, and Henry's thirty-six-year-old sister, Margaret, was to become the bride of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who had been granted the right to return to his duchy twenty years after he had been expelled by Henry II's father, Francis I. The marital stipulations were in concert with custom during the Renaissance, in which royal marriages were used to cement political relationships and offset international enmity.

The symbolic and political enormity of the two weddings that were being celebrated was unequaled in European history. A bond was to be established between Europe's two major dynasties, the Habsburgs and the House of Valois. The two royal foes, whose military conflicts dominated the first half of the sixteenth century, were issuing an overt expression of détente.

Great dramas are generally acted out by a significant cast of characters. The principals and participants in the celebration that was held in Paris in June 1559 were notable for the impact that they previously had and that they would continue to exert on the European continent. On the brides' side, a powerful king, Henry II of France, served as host. Catherine, his wife and consort and the mother of one of the brides, bore the most recognizable Italian Renaissance name, that of the "de' Medici." She would become regarded by historians as the most influential European woman in the sixteenth century. Another woman in the French contingent, Diane de Poitiers, who was highly visible at the event, was that century's most famous mistress. In appreciation of the significance of the occasion, essentially all of the most powerful members of the French nobility and clergy were in attendance.

On the visitors' side, King Philip II of Spain, albeit absent and represented by proxy, was one of the bridegrooms. He was the dominant royal figure of the sixteenth century and is regarded as the royal individual with the greatest impact during the second half of

that century. His proxy at the celebration, the Duke of Alba, was Europe's leading military figure over the greater part of that century. Included in the Spanish entourage were other military heroes who had also participated in the conferences, which stipulated that the two marriages should take place. One of these heroes, the Count of Egmont, would go on to martyrdom associated with the cause that resulted in the independence of the Netherlands. The second bridegroom, the Duke of Savoy, led the troops whose decisive victory at Saint Quentin brought an end to the Italian Wars.

Three of Henry II's children who were present would eventually occupy the throne of France as Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III. Both royal houses, the Habsburgs and the House of Valois, which participated in the celebration, would be caught up in the religious battles of the Reformation. Several of the attendees would lose their lives in the religious conflict. Among these was the Count of Montgomery, who accidentally struck the blow that led to the death of Henry II. Prior to his death, the count would rise to leadership in the Huguenot cause.

At the time that he hosted the celebration, Henry II was in the forty-first year of his life and the thirteenth year of his reign. He has largely been overlooked by historians when compared with both his flamboyant father, Francis I, known as *le roi chevalier* (the chivalrous king), and his son Henry III, *le roi gallant* (the gallant king). By comparison, Henry II was referred to as *le roi gentilhomme* (the gentleman king).[1] This appellation was based on Henry's even temperament, his kindly and readily approachable attitude, and the fact the he was never overtly angry.

The French nobles had high regard for Henry and enjoyed his companionship in sports. He had a particular passion for tennis, archery, and hunting. Five years before his ascension to the throne, one observer reported that Henry was exceedingly skillful at jousting. Four years later, the Venetian ambassador, Marino Cavalli, affirmed Henry's adroitness in the use of arms.[2]

As dauphin before assuming the throne, Henry also had been regarded as a brave and competent military leader, who had performed well during battles at Provence and in the Boulogne campaign. His ascension to the throne was welcomed by both the nobility and the people at large, given the increasing foolishness of his father's military and fiscal policies.

Henry II's twelve-year reign was marked by the extension of France into Lorraine. This came about in 1551 when he formalized an alliance with the Schmalkaldic League in exchange for their recognition of French rights in this area in which German was not the dominant language. The cities included in that acquisition were Metz,

Toulon, and Verdun. Two years later, an alliance with the Ottoman sultan led to the French seizure of Corsica. An additional territorial gain was the recovery of Calais from England. This effectively marked the end of the Hundred Years' War.

But all these gains were offset by Henry's ultimate acquiescence to the Habsburgs that was brought about by the defeat of the French at Saint Quentin and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. At the time of the 1559 celebration, loss of esteem for the French monarch during the latter part of his tenure was becoming increasingly pervasive.

The treaty was unpopular. Catherine de' Medici had urged her husband not to sign it. Duke Francis of Guise told Henry, "I swear to you, Sire, that there is evil in taking this road. For if you do nothing but lose for the next thirty years, you would not give up as much as now with a single stroke."[3]

It was believed that the treaty would allow Henry to turn his attention to the growing problem of the Reformation. Although the Reformation had its seeds sown before Henry became king, during his reign France remained largely free of heresy. Henry was a conservative Catholic who was steadfastly loyal to his faith. In 1547, he created a new criminal chamber, known as the Second Tournelle, to hear cases of heresy, but it was abandoned two years later.[4] There was only an occasional execution for a religious reason during his reign. Henry's reputation was that of a persecutor of Huguenots, but the Huguenots increased in number and influence while he occupied the throne.

In 1557, because more French towns and districts were becoming increasingly Protestant, Henry issued the Edict of Compiègne, which affirmed the death penalty for heresy, but his proposed offensive against Protestantism was aborted by the battle of Saint Quentin.

Henry brought venality, the selling of rights to the highest bidder, to new heights in France. Because the treasury was deeply in debt, he imposed heavy taxes, known as "gabelles," on property, produce, and salt. Tax farmers, who were responsible for collecting the taxes, incurred the peasants' wrath, particularly in Guyenne. In response, Henry sent Constable Anne de Montmorency to quell the violence that had erupted in the region, and, in the process, hundreds were executed.[5]

The attention given to Henry II in history is overshadowed by the focus on his queen, Catherine de' Medici, who, like Henry, was in her forty-first year at the time of the celebration of their eldest daughter's marriage. Shortly after Catherine's marriage to Henry, Pope Clement VII died, thereby negating the very reason for the marriage, namely, to cement a relationship between the papacy and the House of Valois. At that point, the French generally considered Catherine a poor excuse

for a princess and future queen. According to the Venetian ambassador, she displeased the entire nation.[6]

She did, however, ingratiate herself with Francis I because of her intelligence, dancing ability, horsemanship, and hunting expertise. She was also befriended by the king's mistress, Anne d'Heilly, Duchess of d'Étampes, and Francis's sister, Queen Margaret of Navarre. Henry II, throughout their marriage, treated his wife with civility but emotional indifference. She offered little in the way of sexual attraction, and copulation between Henry and Catherine was specifically directed at providing offspring to ensure the future of the House of Valois as the source for future kings of France.

When Henry and Catherine were seventeen years old and his older brother suddenly died, they became dauphin and dauphine, the future king and queen of France. This only accentuated her obligatory role as a procreator of future kings. During the first ten years of their marriage, Catherine was unable to conceive. Within that period of time, in 1537, while Henry was in Italy serving with the Imperial army, he fathered a child with Filippa Duci, the daughter of one of his grooms. The baby was eventually legitimized by Henry, and was given the name Diane de France by Henry to honor his mistress, Diane de Poitiers. In time, the child, Diane Duci, grew up and married Orazio Farnese, Duke of Castro in 1553. A few months after that marriage, the duke died at the battle at Hesdin. Four years later, Diane married the Marshal Francis of Montmorency, a son of Constable Anne de Montmorency.

The evidence of Henry's potency placed the blame for the royal couple's apparent infertility squarely on Catherine. This stimulated a movement within the court to have their relationship terminated by divorce, and to initiate the quest for a new and fertile bride for Henry. Francis I squelched the movement. After an undefined medical intervention by Jean Fernel, the greatest physician of the Renaissance,[7] beginning in January 1544 and continuing over an ensuing twelve years, Catherine gave birth to ten children, seven of whom survived childhood.

Francis II was the first born in 1544, followed by Elizabeth in 1545, Claude in 1547, Louis in 1549, Charles-Maximilian (later to become Charles IX) in 1550, Edouard Alexandre (later to become Henry III) in 1551, Margaret (Margot) in 1553, Hercules François (Francis, Duke of Anjou) in 1555, and twin girls, Victoire and Jeanne in 1556. It is suggested that the fecundity with the goal of creating heirs was encouraged by Henry's mistress, Diane de Poitiers, who regarded the consummations as acts of state. The Venetian ambassador to France wrote that "the duchess [Diane de Poitiers], for her part, serves the Queen well, and often it is she, who exhorts him

to sleep with his wife."[8]

With the birth of her first child, Catherine immediately gained the admiration of her subjects, but Diane de Poitiers was placed in charge of the first born and the other royal children who followed. In 1547, a twenty-eight-year-old Catherine became queen of France. The actual coronation with all its grandeur took place at Saint Denis on June 10, 1548. Throughout her reign, "In public she was mistress of her dignity and performed her ceremonial and social functions with an authority as easy as it was unassuming…. [They] could not recall a queen since Anne de Bretagne, so completely equal to her position."[9] As queen, Catherine's home in Paris was the Château des Tournelles, and she also used the Château de Montreaux-en-Brie near Meaux as her residence.

During Henry II's reign, Diane de Poitiers maintained her dominant relationship with the king. Although Catherine acted as regent during Henry's absences, she had almost no political influence.[10] Catherine loved her husband and throughout their marriage was willing to endure the indignity of his preference for Diane just to remain near him.[11]

In 1551, Henry fathered the child of Lady Fleming, governess of Mary Stuart. The king recognized the boy as his, and gave him the name, Henry Chevalier de Angoulême. The boy was brought up with Catherine's children, and eventually assigned the title of grand prior of France. He was noted for his cruelty during the Catholic attack on Huguenots in the Saint Batholomew's Day Massacre, and was later killed in a duel in 1586.

Also in 1551, a change in Henry's attitude toward Catherine became apparent. It was noted that he spent more time with the queen, and there was evidence of affection. When during that same year Henry went to war against Charles V, ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, he bestowed on Catherine the regency for the second time, making her the pro tem head of the French ruling council. In that capacity, she demonstrated her capability for leadership, and was respected by the court. Her ability was again manifest after the devastating defeat of French forces at Saint Quentin. At that time, the fear of an enemy invasion of Paris created panic. Catherine, with the support of Henry's sister Margaret, demonstrated great composure in addressing the public, and was able to temper the fear of the populace.

The Venetian ambassador described Catherine one year before the 1559 wedding celebration: "Queen Catherine has an extremely large face though her body is well proportioned. . . . She is loved by all and more than anyone else she loves the king, for whom she overcomes all fatigue to follow."[12]

The children of Henry and Catherine who were in Paris for the marriages included; their fifteen-year-old son, Francis, and his sixteen-year-old wife of one year, Mary Queen of Scots; Henry and Catherine's eleven-year-old daughter, Claude; their nine-year-old son, Charles; their seven-year-old son, Henry; their six-year-old daughter, Margaret; and their four-year-old son, Hercules François.

The woman who shared a role with Catherine in bringing up the royal children and who dominated Henry II's amorous attention was also highly visible at the celebration and, particularly, at the joust. Diane de Poitiers was Henry's mistress at a time when the existence of a royal mistress was widely accepted. In France, Henry's father, Francis I, had flaunted his own mistress, Anne d' Heilly, on whom Francis bestowed the title, Duchess d' Étampes.

Diane de Poitiers was born on September 3, 1499, the daughter of Jean de Poitiers, Seigneur de Saint-Vallier in the Rhône-Alpes region of France. She was sent to the royal court when she was fourteen. A year later, she married Louis de Brézé, Seigneur d'Anet, who was forty years her senior and was referred to as one of the ugliest men in France.[13] She bore two daughters in 1518 and 1521.

Her relationship with Henry can be traced to March 17, 1526, when the seven-year-old prince was sent to Spain with his older brother as a hostage for his father after the French defeat at the battle of Pavia. Diane was part of the royal entourage to bid the hostages farewell. At that time, she allegedly kissed Henry on his forehead.[14]

On Henry's return, Francis I placed him under Diane's tutelage. Almost immediately, a rivalry developed between Diane and Francis I's mistress. At court, Diane continually championed the cause of Henry, while the duchess countered with her endorsement of Henry's younger brother, Charles, who was Francis I's favorite son. In 1531, Louis de Brézé died, and Diane assumed his position as governor and Grand-sénéchale of Normandie. For the remainder of her life, from the time of her husband's death, she was seen in public wearing a black dress, which occasionally had white or grey decorations interspersed.

In 1531, at a tournament held for the crowning of Francis I's wife, Eleanor, Henry addressed his salute to Diane before he participated in a joust, a circumstance that would be repeated on the fatal day twenty-eight years later. When it came to selecting a bride for Henry in 1533, Diane approved of the choice of Catherine de' Medici. This was perhaps influenced by the fact that both Diane and Catherine were part of the La Tour d' Auvergne family; Diane was an elder cousin of Catherine.

Fig. 15. Diane de Poitiers.

Diane, who was twenty years Henry's senior, maintained an elegance and attractive appearance. It is not known when Henry and Diane became lovers. After the death of Henry's older brother, Francis, the king became increasingly concerned with the new dauphin's lack of vivacity. In the hopes of improving Henry's general attitude, he not only sanctioned but encouraged Diane to become Henry's mistress. It is probable that this took place before 1538, when Henry gave Diane's name to the illegitimate daughter he had with Filippa Duci.

During Catherine's barren period she allegedly had holes bored through the floor of her apartment so that she could view the lovemaking of Henry and Diane de Poitiers.[15] The openness of the relationship between Henry and Diane was manifested by Constable Montmorency providing his own castle at Écouen to Henry for trysts. Henry flaunted his relationship with Diane by adopting the crescent moon, symbolic of the mythological Diana of the hunt, as his emblem.

There was also an often displayed monogram with an interlaced “H and D” throughout the royal household.

Diane was highly visible at the coronation of Henry II at Rheims on July 26, 1547, and, later that year, she was treated as a queen when Henry made a formal royal visit to Lyon. Shortly thereafter, Diane received the title of Duchess of Valentinois. Although Diane’s political astuteness was well appreciated, there is little evidence that she played a significant role in royal policy. As Henry’s royal confidant, she was rewarded with the crown jewels, the rebuilding of her own Château d’ Anet, and a gift of the elegant Château de Chenonceau in the Loire valley.

Fig. 16. Monogram of Henry and Diane.

Catherine was superseded by Diane in the supervision of the royal offspring. Diane played with the children and engaged their nurses

and tutors. This situation was captured in an allegorical painting by Francis Clouet. Diane is shown nude surrounded by the two elder sons of Henry and a wet nurse breast-feeding a third son. Catherine is seated in another room at a distance.

Fig. 17. Allegory of Diane de Poitiers caring for Henry II's children with Catherine in the background.

The most highly regarded nobility represented the two dynasties involved in the marriages and enjoyed a position of high visibility at the celebratory joust. This was to be anticipated in France, where the relationship between the monarchy and the nobility was generally amicable. In France, nobility was a legal status that was transmitted along male lines. In the French feudal system, nobles were exempt from most taxes, had the right to carry weapons, and had the honor of serving the king. The nobility had the right to use the land and the common people in exchange for providing the monarchy with military support. That privilege bore the designation of "gens d' armes," men

at arms, referring to heavily armored cavalrymen or knights.

In 1547, it is estimated that France had eighty thousand individuals who could claim membership in the nobility, which rivaled the church for power.[16] During the reign of Henry II, the nobility remained prosperous, and there were the beginnings of the purchase of titles by wealthy commoners. Representatives of the two most powerful families in French nobility, Montmorency and Guise, occupied places of honor at the wedding celebration.

The most influential and trusted member of the nobility during the entire reign of Henry II was Anne de Montmorency. He was born in Chantilly in 1493, to an ancient family, which claimed the title as "First Baron of the realm" because the family descended from the first Frank to be baptized after Clovis, who was the first king of the Franks to unite all the Frankish tribes and to convince them to convert to Christianity at the end of the fifth century.[17]

Anne's father was a member of the court of Louis XII and, consequently, Anne, as a child, was brought up and developed a close friendship with the future Francis I. Shortly after Francis assumed the throne in 1515, Montmorency was named captain of the Bastille. He served as a hostage in England for Francis I until the successful repayment of a debt to Henry VIII. Montmorency was present for the lavish meeting of these two monarchs at the Field of the Cloth of Gold and continued to be in charge of diplomatic relations with England.

His relationship with Henry began in 1530 when Henry was eleven years old. As constable of Castile and envoy for Francis I, Anne de Montmorency arranged for the release of Henry and his brother, the dauphin, from their four and a half years of confinement in Spain in exchange for gold.[18] Henry's youthful attachment to Montmorency grew as a replacement for the lack of a bond between Henry and his father, who much preferred Henry's younger brother, Charles.

Fig. 18. Anne de Montmorency.

In 1533, at the celebration of the wedding of Henry and Catherine de' Medici in Marseilles, Montmorency, representing the king of France, escorted Catherine, while Pope Clement VII accompanied Henry.[19] In 1537, Henry's military career was initiated at Provence, where Montmorency led troops as a lieutenant general and established his reputation as a brilliant defensive tactician who applied a scorched-earth policy that led to the retreat of Charles V's invading army. Henry later wrote Montmorency, "Be sure that whatever happens, I am and shall be for my life as much your friend as anyone in the world."[20]

Francis I, in 1538, made Anne de Montmorency constable of France, a position for life. It represented the most senior military rank.

Two years later, Montmorency brokered a deal by which Charles V would give Milan to Francis I's favorite son, Charles, as part of the dowry of a proposed marriage between Francis's son and Charles V's daughter, Mary. When the deal collapsed, Montmorency was banished from court in 1541 and did not return until the ascension of Henry II in 1547.

Montmorency was the first to be recalled when Henry became king. Montmorency, who still bore the title of constable of France, was made president of the King's Privy Council and placed in charge of all government matters. Henry sent Montmorency to Guyenne in 1548 to put down revolts, which had erupted in response to the salt tax ("la gabelle"). The event, which was marked by tortures and executions, gained for Montmorency a reputation of merciless brutality.

Two years later, Montmorency led troops, which brought about the surrender of Charles V's forces at Boulogne. Montmorency was rewarded with a peerage and the title of duke, and his estates were designated a duchy. Montmorency's fortunes changed dramatically in 1557 with the devastating defeat at the battle of Saint Quentin in which he led the French troops. During that battle, Montmorency was taken into captivity, where he remained for over a year.

Fig. 19. Francis, Duke of Guise.

Also among the nobility and highly visible throughout the celebration were distinguished members of the House of Guise, which rivaled Montmorency for power. Francis, Duke of Guise, was one of Henry's closest friends. They were of the same age and had been brought up together at court. When Henry became king, Francis Guise was admitted to the Privy Council, made master of the Royal Hunt, and given the additional title of Duke d'Aumâle. In 1545, at the battle of Boulogne, Francis Guise sustained a large facial wound that earned him the sobriquet of "Belafré" or "the scarred." Three years later, his prestige was enhanced when he married the daughter of the Duke of Ferrara.

In 1552, Francis Guise successfully defended Metz from the forces of Charles V. After the defeat of Constable Montmorency at the battle of Saint Quentin, Francis Guise was recalled to France from Italy, where he had led an army in support of Pope Paul IV. On his return, he was made lieutenant-general of France. In the beginning of 1558, he captured Calais, thereby permanently ending English rule of the area, and Francis Guise went on to lead troops that recaptured the town of Thionville.

Francis Guise's younger brother, Charles, maintained a powerbase that was grounded in his identification with the church. He was named archbishop of Rheims when he was nine years old, and, in 1547, the pope made him a cardinal. In that capacity, one year later, he and Cardinal Vendôme led the procession at the coronation of Catherine de' Medici. While Montmorency remained a prisoner after the battle of Saint Quentin, the cardinal of Lorraine took over domestic responsibilities for Henry II.

The Spanish nobility in attendance at the celebration was represented by the Duke of Alba, the Prince of Eboli, the Prince of Orange, and the Count of Egmont. This constituted the most powerful quartet possible.

Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, third Duke of Alba (see figure 9) was Philip II's surrogate at the marriage ceremony in France. It had been arranged that the marriage would be ratified with Philip present, when his bride arrived in Spain. Philip invoked tradition to explain his absence stating, "Custom demands that the kings of Spain should not go to fetch their wives but that their wives should be brought to them."[21]

The Duke of Alba was a logical choice as surrogate because of the prominent position that he held in Philip's court. At the time, the duke was the most famous military figure in Spain and throughout Europe. He had succeeded his grandfather as duke, served initially under Charles V, and took part in the siege of Tunis in 1535. He was designated the emperor's general during the Italian Wars, and bore that title from 1536 to 1556.

In 1541, the duke was named head of Charles's household, and, two years later, he became Philip's principal advisor, a position he held for over a quarter of a century. He was credited with routing the Schmalkaldic League of Protestant rebels in 1547. Alba was one of only nine Spanish nobles who had previously attended the royal wedding between Philip and Queen Mary in Winchester Cathedral in 1554. Also, it was the Duke of Alba who negotiated with Pope Paul IV to recognize Philip as king of Naples.

The Duke of Alba's status in 1557 was summarized in a statement by the Venetian ambassador Suriano: "The king holds him in respect

and so do the other lords of the council, so that everything depends on him. If he remains here he will be master of everything. King Philip's confessor had said that the Duke of Alba is more than king and chooses to do everything."[22] That year, Alba was one of the representatives at the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis.

Also representing the Spanish nobility was Ruy Gómez de Silva, Prince of Eboli and Duke of Pastrana. He was Portuguese and ten years older than Philip II, but was brought up with the future king at the Spanish court. He initially served as Philip's page, and, over the course of a lifelong association, became the king's most trusted adviser. His self-effacement and unwavering fidelity to the crown resulted in his ascension to the position of councilor of state and his control of state finances. He had direct access to the king with the responsibility of awakening him in the morning and seeing him to bed in the night.

Ruy Gomez was the counterbalance for the Duke of Alba. His political philosophy favoring a federal government, which incorporated several individual states, each with its own rights, was diametrically opposed to the Duke of Alba's autocratic and authoritarian concept of rule. These two prime counsels to Philip II began to clash in 1552[23] but continued to try to accommodate one another. Ruy Gomez also accompanied Philip to his wedding in England in 1554, and was part of the negotiating team at the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. As Ruy Gómez's influence increased, and he emerged as the favorite at court, the Venetian ambassador indicated that, "everybody calls him 'rey' (king) rather than Ruy Gómez."[24]

The other two nobles in the entourage, which was dispatched by Philip II, were well acquainted with traveling together in delegations and would join each other after Henry's death to gain independence for the Netherlands.

William of Nassau became Prince of Orange in 1544. He was six years younger than Phillip II and was often referred to as William the Silent. He was the most prominent grandee in the Low Countries and also possessed large estates in France and Germany. He served Charles V as commander of one of the armies, and was made a member of the Raad van State, the highest political advisory council in the Netherlands. He, too, was part of the entourage on the occasion of the marriage between Philip and Queen Mary Tudor of England. William of Nassau also participated in the negotiations at Cateau-Cambrésis. In 1559, he was appointed Stadtholder (governor) of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and Friesland.

Lamoral, Count of Egmont, was four years older than Philip II, and was a member of one of the wealthiest families in the Low Countries. He became a count in 1546 when Charles V made him a

member of the Order of Golden Fleece. The Count of Egmont had preceded Philip to England in 1554, and was responsible for the ratification of the marriage contract with Queen Mary. He was a distinguished military leader and was in charge of the cavalry at the battle at Saint Quentin. Egmont was often credited with that victory and went on, in 1558, to defeat the French at Gravelines. In 1559, Philip II made him Stadtholder of the French-speaking provinces of the Netherlands and Artois.

This distinguished cast of characters is evidence of the significance of the occasion. The powerful French dynasty, one of the two dominant European forces, was providing the two brides. The two bridegrooms were leadership figures in the opposition, which had been dedicated to defeating the French.

Fig. 20. Elizabeth of Valois.

The main stimulus for the lavish celebration that took place in June 1559 was the marriage between Philip II and Elizabeth of Valois. Philip's bride, Catherine de' Medici's and Henry's second child and first daughter, was born at Fontainebleau on April 22, 1546. At that time Henry was dauphin and heir to the throne. Elizabeth's baptism was a grand event attended by ambassadors of Henry VIII of England. They were present in France to confirm the recent peace treaty between France and England that was proposed at Campes. In

preparation for the baptism, the Cour du Donjon of the palace of Fontainebleau was decorated with lavish gold tapestry and jeweled cups by Benvenuto Cellini. The floor was covered with Persian carpets.

Baby Elizabeth was carried to the baptismal fountain by Lord Chesney, a representative of Henry VIII, and the ceremony was performed by the cardinal of Bourbon. That evening King Francis I hosted a banquet, and the following day the dauphin Henry jousted with the Count of Laval. As would be repeated fourteen years later, on that occasion, Henry bore the colors of Diane de Poitiers. Henry was awarded the palm of victory for his meritorious performance.[25]

A household was immediately set up for Elizabeth at Saint Germain-en-Laye. In July 1548, the seven-year-old Queen Mary Stuart of Scotland, the betrothed of the Dauphin Francis, was added to that household. Princess Elizabeth was educated at the abbey of St. Etienne, where she was instructed in Latin and Spanish. When Elizabeth was eleven, she joined Mary Stuart in her studies.

In 1552, after the overtures for the hand of Mary Stuart by the fifteen-year-old king of England, Edward VI, were rejected, the offer was transferred to Elizabeth of Valois. The negotiations ended with Edward's premature death the following year. The first proposal of a future union between Spanish royalty and the beautiful Elizabeth was made at the Conferences of Marcq in 1555. The ambassadors proposed a marriage between Elizabeth and eleven-year-old Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip. The proposal lay fallow, but a conjunction with Spain may have been engrafted on Elizabeth's mind.[26]

Elizabeth combined grace and gravity, and was Catherine's favorite child.[27] Elizabeth made her first public state appearance on April 24, 1558, on the occasion of the marriage of her brother, the Dauphin Francis, with Mary Stuart. Elizabeth walked in the procession with her sister Claude behind Queen Catherine. At that celebratory ball, Elizabeth danced the first dance with the bride, and later danced a minuet with the queen of Navarre.[28]

While Philip II was in Ghent and about to return to Spain at the time of the celebration, his proxy, the Duke of Alba, led the entourage of nobles and hundreds of accompanying horsemen from Spain. The group was met on June 19 in Saint Denis, on the outskirts of Paris, by the Prince of Condé; the cardinals of Bourbon and Guise; the Duke of Lorraine, who was Henry II's son-in-law; the Dukes of Nevers, Guise, Aumale, Bouillon, Nemours; and Prince Alphonso of Este. The Duke of Lorraine headed the receiving assemblage. He rode beside the Duke of Alba as the procession entered the city limits and proceeded amidst pomp to the Louvre.

The great hall of the Louvre was richly decorated. A canopy of

state covered the dais, which contained three thrones, one for Henry II, one for Queen Catherine, and one for the bride, Princess Elizabeth. As soon as the Duke of Alba and accompanying Spanish nobility entered, the queen and Elizabeth seated themselves, to be followed by the trumpets' blare. The music announced a procession led by 300 Swiss Guards, followed by 200 gentlemen of the chamber, Constable Montmorency, and, finally, Henry II accompanied by his son Francis, who conjointly bore the two titles of dauphin and king consort and, by virtue of his marriage to Mary Stuart, king of Scotland.

After the Duke of Alba paid homage to Henry II, the king formally recognized Philip II's proxy. The duke kissed the queen's hand and the hem of Elizabeth's dress. He then delivered a message in Spanish from Philip, and presented the princess with a letter and a casket that contained jewels and a bejeweled portrait of Philip to be worn as a pendant. After Alba introduced his entourage, he paid homage to Mary Stuart and informed Henry's sister Margaret that her betrothed, the Duke of Savoy, was on his way.[29]

On the morning of the June 21, the bells in the towers of the churches throughout Paris rang and citizens flooded the streets around Nôtre Dame. About eleven in the morning, the Swiss Guard preceded the Duke of Alba and accompanying Spanish nobility to the Episcopal palace. They were followed a large French contingent of cardinals and nobles culminating in Henry II leading the bride. Elizabeth, whose dowry was 400,000 golden crowns, was richly dressed with jewels interwoven in her gown. Among the jewels that she wore, the most notable were a bejeweled portrait of Philip that hung from her neck accompanied by the famous large pear-shaped pearl, which had originally been brought from Mexico and presented to Charles V by Hernán Cortés. Queen Catherine and Princess Margaret walked next to the bride, whose bridal train was borne by her sisters and Mary Stuart.[30] The cardinal of Bourbon performed the marriage ceremony in the Episcopal palace, and the entire assemblage moved into the cathedral where a high mass was carried out.

The next days were spent in preparation for the marriage ceremony between Henry's sister Margaret and the Duke of Savoy. The pageantry and sobriety of the completed wedding ceremony transformed into a period of ebullience and celebration for Paris and all of France. The Duke of Savoy arrived in Paris on June 21. Six days later, the official betrothal between him and Henry II's sister Margaret took place at the Hôtel des Tournelles. The marriage ceremony was scheduled for July 4.

Fig. 21. Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy.

The anticipated marriage between Margaret of Valois and Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, generated particular satisfaction for the groom, who was a member of one of the oldest reigning houses in Europe. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Duchy of Savoy was an independent principality, which incorporated the region from Geneva to Nice. Emmanuel Philibert was born in 1528, the son of Charles III of Savoy and Beatrice of Portugal, the sister-in-law of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Charles III of Savoy had tried to remain neutral in the wars between the Habsburgs and Valois. But in 1536, the French occupied the duchy as an expression of Francis I's anger when Charles III refused to allow the French troops to march across the duchy in order to attack Milan.

Consequently, Emmanuel entered the service of Charles V in 1545 and served in the military in France, Germany, and the Low Countries. When his father died in 1553, Emmanuel succeeded to the title but remained a ruler without a realm. That year, he distinguished himself by leading troops to capture Hesdin.

After Charles V abdicated, Emmanuel served Philip II, his first cousin, as governor of the Netherlands until 1559. Emmanuel would

emerge in 1557 as a major hero from the battle of Saint Quentin. At the time, Philibert was described as “slim, austere, excitable, with a commanding presence,”[31] and had earned the nickname of “Ironhead.” The Treaty of Cateau-Cabrésis, which followed the disastrous defeat of the French, specifically stipulated that Emmanuel Philibert was to regain his duchy with the exception of Turin, Pignerol, Quiers, Villeneuve, and Chivas, and acquire his royal bride.

The bride, Margaret of France, the thirty-six-year-old sister of Henry II, was honored by the poetry of Pierre de Ronsard and the Pléiade (the name given to sixteenth-century French Renaissance poets).[32] She was born at Saint Germain-en-Lay in 1523. Within a year her mother died and Margaret was placed in the charge of her aunt Margaret of Angoulême, perhaps the most savant of all noble women during the sixteenth century.

When Margaret of Valois was only three years old, Charles III, Duke of Savoy, offered his eldest son, Louis, to be betrothed as her future husband, but Louis died shortly thereafter. On several occasions a marriage between a teenaged Margaret and Emmanuel Philibert, Louis’s younger brother, was discussed. But at the time, Emmanuel Philibert was merely a landless young nobleman. In 1538, Francis I rejected the suit of Emmanuel Philibert in favor of Emperor Charles V’s proposal that Margaret marry his son, Philip, but that was never finalized.[33]

In 1550, Margaret of Valois succeeded her aunt Margaret of Angoulême as Duchess of Berry, a designation that had been created for junior members of the royal family. The Duchy of Berry included the departments of Cher, Indre, and parts of Vienne, with the capital at Bourges. The position had been created for the nobility in 1360 and was assigned to members of the royal family until the French revolution at the end of the eighteenth century.

Fig. 22. Margaret of France, Duchess of Berry.

Margaret became the confidant and best friend of Catherine de' Medici at the time of Catherine's marriage to Henry, and that strong bond persisted throughout their lives. Margaret was notable as a *femme savant*, one of the most knowledgeable women in Europe, the friend of scholars and poets. Margaret's representation as goddess of peace and wisdom and patroness of arts and letters has been memorialized by her depiction as Pallas Athene on a 1555 Limoges enamel, which is currently in the Wallace Museum in London. Her status in the royal family at the time of her wedding was exceeded only by the king and queen. She was referred to as *Madame la Sœur*

Unique du Roi (Madam, the king's unique sister)[34] and would bring to the marriage a dowry of 300,000 crowns.

Chapter 4
THE FATAL JOUST

In 1879, William Hepworth Dixon wrote, "One sport, called hastiludes, was not less dangerous than war itself."[1] *Hastilude*, which derives from the Latin *hasta* meaning "spear" and *lude* meaning "play" is the term applied to the martial games that were popular in Europe throughout the Middle Ages and early Renaissance. The exact date or origin of martial games is unknown, but in 1194, Richard I legalized tournaments in England.[2] They began by pitting groups of opponents in mock battle at an agreed upon time. The tournament was regarded as a preparation for actual combat during a war. Perhaps the tournament, which was most marked with pageantry, took place at the Field of the Cloth of Gold from June 7 to June 24, 1520, and included combatants led by Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France.

The word *joust* derives from the old French *just*, meaning "approach" or "come together." The word *adjust* derives from the same root. Jousting, which consists of individual combat between two knights mounted on charging horses, was first mentioned in the English language by William of Malmesbury in 1141.[3] William Shakespeare had his fifteenth-century Richard II of England ask, "What news from Oxford? Hold these Justs [jousts] and Triumphs?" *Joust*, in its current form, appears in the fourteenth-century writing of John Gower of England, and in the fifteenth-century works of William Caxton and Edmund Spenser.[4]

During a joust, although battle axes and swords were occasionally used as weapons, tilting with lances was most frequently performed. *Tilting* took its name from the barrier between opponents, initially made of cloth but later of wood, that ran the length of the list, which referred to the enclosed area prepared for the contest.

Initially, sharpened lances, identical to those used during actual combat, were used, but because of many serious consequences, blunted or rebated weapons (meaning shortened to prevent harm) were generally employed. This led to a distinct difference between *jousts à plaisance* (jousts of peace) and *jousts à outrance* (jousts of war).

Each combatant was seated on a saddle with a high front to protect the groin and a high back to prevent backward movement. The saddle was carried by a horse that was usually bred for the occasion. The contestants were fitted with armor from head-to-toe, including a

metal helmet with small slits to permit vision while protecting against penetration by the opponent's lance.

During a joust the opponents charged toward one another with the six-foot-high barrier to their left side, the twelve-foot lances carried in their right hands usually secured in a locking gauntlet. The lances were pointed across the riders' bodies and the left ear of the bejeweled horse, above the height of the barrier. Points were awarded for types of contact and broken lances. As the blows were landed, the energized French audience would be heard to shout "Attiente!" or "Attack!"

Given the social status of the host and the bridal couples, it would have been anticipated that the occasion would be marked with unrivaled grandeur and opulence. It would also have been anticipated that, as host, Henry II, with his personal passion for horsemanship and jousting, would highlight the celebration with an elaborate tournament. And what greater embellishment than for the king himself to participate in the jousting lists! This would evoke great enthusiasm from the crowd witnessing the events and provide personal pleasure and satisfaction for a king who would have the opportunity to show off his skills in the sport.

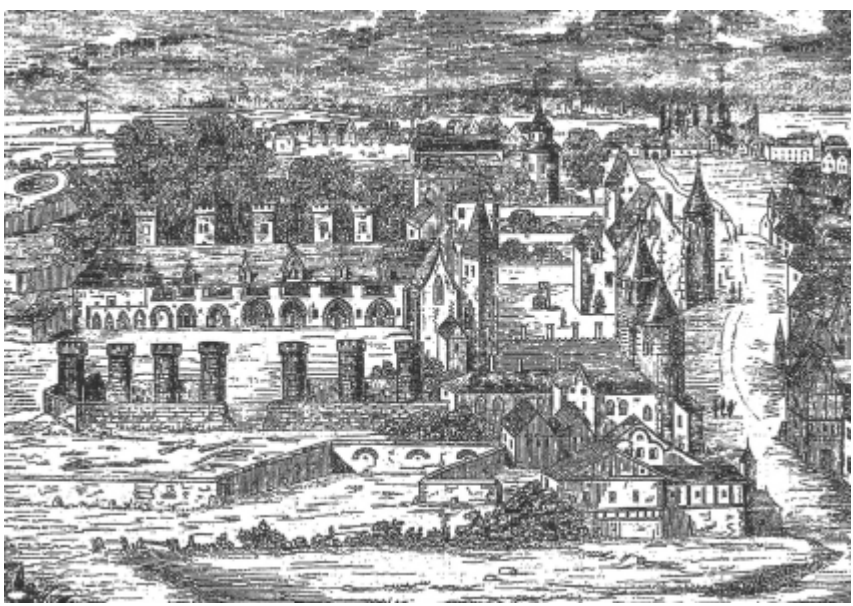


Fig. 23. Hôtel des Tournelles.

The grand tournament, which celebrated the two marriages, was scheduled to last three days beginning June 28. The French royalty, in anticipation of the extensive celebration, had established their residence at Hôtel des Tournelles, the name of which came from the large number of towers incorporated in its structure. About six

thousand people could be housed on the estate, which was located on the north side of what is now known as the Place des Vosges. It occupied the area between rue Saint-Antoine, rue des Tournelles, rue de Turenne, and rue Saint-Gilles, which penetrated the park inside the estate.

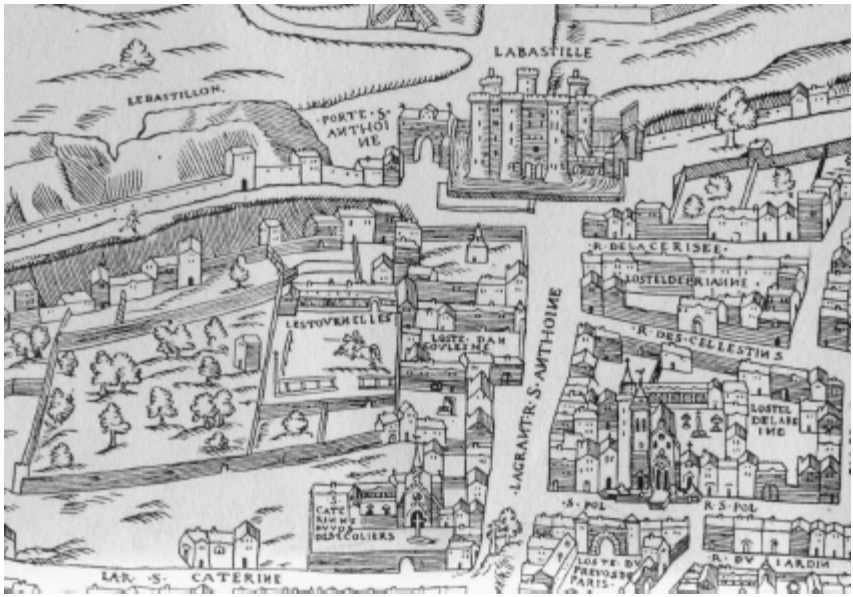


Fig. 24. The park of Hôtel des Tournelles.

After the death of Henry II, Catherine de' Medici left the Hôtel des Tournelles and took up residence at the Louvre. In 1563, she obtained from her son, Charles IX, an edict ordering the demolition of the Hôtel des Tournelles. This was accomplished gradually, and some of the stone was used to construct the Palace of the Tuileries. Finally, in March 1604, Henry IV issued an edict for his minister Maximilien of Béthune, Duke of Sully, to give sections of the area to the principal nobles of the realm for them to build residences. At the approximate site where the fatal joust took place, currently located at 62 rue Saint Antoine, is the Hôtel de Sully, which houses *Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites* (the National Registry of Historic Monuments and Sites).

In preparation for the tournament, seating for the royal party was erected on the side of the Hôtel des Tournelles, facing the tilt yard located on rue Saint Antoine, which at the time was the widest street in Paris. The paving stones of the street were removed to provide a dirt surface for the events of the tournaments (lists). The lists were arranged in an enclosed field. A large wooden amphitheater with raised boxes for the ladies was constructed. The flags and heraldry of France, Spain, and Savoy adorned the buildings and arches.

Scaffolding was erected in front of all the surrounding shops and buildings to allow for a crowd of spectators. Windows were rented to viewers. The city of Paris was ordered by the king to defray some of the expenses of the tournament, and the monarchy also borrowed a significant sum for the occasion.

The tournament began on June 28 with jousts conducted by members of the Dauphin Charles's company of lancers. The French soldiers showed themselves to be superior horsemen. On the next day, the appetite of the audience continued to be whetted when gentlemen-at-arms (gens d'armes) of the higher levels of the French nobility performed impressively at the lists. There was great anticipation for the third day, which would feature the action of Henry II, who was noted for his prowess based on his participation in previous jousts, the most recent on June 17.[5]

On the fateful day of June 30, 1559, the royal box was occupied by a distinguished array of bejeweled members of the king's immediate family. The queen of France had a central position of state with the young dauphine, Queen Mary of Scotland, to her right and Margaret, who was soon to be married to the Duke of Savoy, to her left. Elizabeth, whose marriage was also being celebrated, as future queen of Spain, was attended by the Duke of Alba, Ruy Gomez, and a large suite of ladies. The latter group sat under a blue silk canopy, which was emblazoned with the armorial devices of Spain.[6] Diane de Poitiers, Duchess of Valentinois, at the time almost sixty years old, but still elegant and the center of Henry's attention, was wearing her signature colors of black and white, and was seated in a conspicuous location surrounded by ladies of the court.

Henry entered the lists in a particularly cheerful mood, accompanied by Francis Guise, Alfonso d' Este, the Duke of Ferrara, the Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Nemours. Henry's hair was slightly grey, but he was in good physical condition despite a modest paunch. His cheerful mood had completely put aside the exhortations of his wife and some members of his court to forego participation because of the danger and their prognostications and premonitions of a dire outcome. The fact that Henry, in the recent past, had experienced several attacks of vertigo after exercise was totally discarded as a point of concern. Later, there was speculation that the affliction might have contributed to the accident.[7]

During the jousts in which he was featured, the king sported the black and white colors of Diane de Poitiers to honor his mistress. He was firmly seated in a saddle with a raised front and rear that restricted forward and backward movement on an elegantly decorated Turkish stallion, which had been given to him by the Duke of Savoy. The horse that Henry rode was given the name "Le Malheureux" (the

unfortunate) probably after the tournament. The horses used during jousts were trained to run rather than trot in order to avoid having the lance rise and fall. The opponents would approach each other at a speed relative to each other of about fifty miles per hour.[8]

It was usually the duty of the grand equerry, to dress the king in his fitted, embossed armor suit and place his head in the metal helmet that was characterized by a narrow visor. On this occasion, the king bestowed the honor on Francis de Scepeaux, Marshal de Vielleville, who coincidentally had crossed paths with Ambroise Paré in 1552 at the siege of Metz, where he negotiated for Paré to cross enemy lines to get needed drugs for the injured French troops.[9] Marshal de Vielleville wrote in his memoirs that, while he was putting on the king's helmet, he had a distinct premonition of danger, and that for the three previous nights he dreamt of the king dying on the day of the joust.[10]

According to the rules, the individual designated as the defender of the lists had to defend them against three challengers. In view of a large enthusiastic audience of nobility and commoners, Henry first jousted with the Duke of Savoy. Both broke their lances, but Henry was credited with the better performance because the duke's horse had reared. Next, Henry rode against the Duke of Guise, and Henry was convinced that he had also bested that opponent. The judges for the event, the Seigneur de Tavannes and Constable Montmorency, agreed. Henry's third and final opponent was Gabriel de Lorges, Comte de Montgomery, who was captain of the king's Scots Guards.

The Scots Guard (*Garde Écossaise*) was a highly regarded military contingent that was held in awe by the populace. From the time of the Hundred Years' War (1336–1453), companies of Scottish soldiers fought for kings of France. The elite Scots Guard was established by Charles VII of France in 1418 to serve as bodyguards for the French royalty. When Charles X abdicated in 1830, the unit was disbanded.

Gabriel de Lorges, who would lead a dramatic life after his participation in the joust against Henry II, was selected for the premier occasion because he had performed well and was acclaimed for his dexterity in earlier matches. Gabriel des Lorges was born in 1530 into the French noble family of Montgomery. The Montgomerys were among the most respected of Norman aristocracy, beginning in the eleventh century. William the Conqueror, in 1066, rewarded Roger of Montgomery with the counties of Shrewsbury and Arundel, which Roger had captured during the invasion of England.

Roger's son Robert inherited land in France, and, after his death, the family established two branches, one in Scotland and the other in France. Records indicate that Jack of Montgomery, Gabriel's father, displayed valor when he led French troops in 1542 against an assault by the Milanese. Jack was rewarded by Francis I with the title of

Gentleman-in-Ordinary of the Chamber, and given command of sixty archers in the Scots Guard. When Henry II assumed the throne, Jack resigned his commission, which was passed on to his son, Gabriel, who assumed the title captain of the guard.[11]

Gabriel of Montgomery was appointed governor of the Bastille, which limited his military activity, but he participated at the siege of Metz and the battle of Saint Quentin. Less than three months after the signing of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, Montgomery carried out the orders for the arrest of five members of Parlement, who were convicted of heresy for adopting Protestantism. On the afternoon of the fatal joust, Henry II issued orders for Montgomery to lead his unit in a campaign against groups of disruptive Huguenots at Caux.[12] That assignment was never executed.

Fig. 25. Gabriel de Lorges, Count of Montgomery.

Henry ran an initial course against Montgomery, and received a firm blow from the captain's lance that almost unseated him. After the match, the king sent a message to the Duke of Savoy thanking him for the horse, which performed so well. But the king was not totally pleased with his performance against Montgomery, because his young opponent had made him stagger and almost lose his footings in his stirrups. Although the tournament had formally ended, the king

demanded a repeat joust.

The queen and the ladies-in-waiting, the Duke of Savoy, and others of the royal party all tried to dissuade the king, indicating that the victory was truly his, the weather was stifling, the hour was late, and the tournament had ended. When Henry indicated to Gabriel de Lorges that he wished one more joust, the captain attempted to excuse himself by invoking the rules that he was allowed only one joust. The king became angry and insisted that the captain comply with a royal dictate.

It was five o'clock on a hot afternoon when the two opponents once again took up their positions on opposite ends of the tilt. As the horses brought the contestants into close proximity, both riders' lances broke. Montgomery, instead of throwing down the stump of his broken lance, held it, allowing the splintered end to strike the king on the gorget protecting the neck, then raise the visor, and enter the king's skull above the right eye. The stunned king was severely jolted, and barely maintained his seat in the saddle. He was helped down by some of the nobles in attendance.

At some time before the king left the grounds, his opponent kneeled before him, and begged to be put to death in retribution. The king indicated that he bore no anger and there was nothing to pardon. Constable Montmorency took the king by one arm; the cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise took the other arm, the Prince of Condé and the Marquis de Martigues carried the legs; the Marquis de Sancerre stabilized the head as the king was brought to the steps of the Hôtel des Tournelles. The king requested to ascend the steps on foot, and carried this out with assistance. He fainted twice on the way to his chambers but was revived with a mixture of rosewater and vinegar. Henry was then placed in the bed in his private chamber. The first group was followed by another cadre that carried the dauphin, who had fainted.

The described course of events is based mainly on three sources. The memoirs of the Marshal de Vielleville, who attended Henry at the joust, were written toward the end of the marshal's life and were published in 1828. Two contemporary accounts, which were written by witnesses shortly after the fatal encounter, are considered to be more reliable.

One was an account sent by the English ambassador Throckmorton to the Privy Council. The report was written during the evening after the accident and was dated July 1, 1559. The ambassador was present at the tournament and witnessed the event.[13]

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who had full view of the accident, wrote in his report: "Which stroke was so vehement, and the pain he had withal so great, as he was much astonished, and had great ado

(with reeling to and from) to keep himself on horseback." The ambassador related that the horse bearing the injured monarch continued to run to the platform where the ambassador was seated. The ambassador's report continued: "And as I could discern, the hurt seemed not to be great; whereby I judge, he is but in little danger. Marry, I saw a splinter taken out, of a good bigness; and nothing else was done to him upon the field, but I noted him to be very weak, and to have the sense of all his limbs almost benumbed; for being carried away, as he lay along, nothing covered his face, he moved neither hand nor foot, but lay as one amazed."

The other contemporary account is a letter from Antoine Caraccioli, bishop of Troyes, who was a spectator, addressed to Cornelia Musso, bishop of Bitonto.[14] The translation appears in a paper by O'Malley and Saunders that focuses on Andreas Vesalius's role in the death of Henry II.[15]

> The jousting lasted for some time until the king, mounted on a horse belonging to the Duke of Savoy (who, since he remained in the galleries with the ladies to watch the king, did not don his armour), and having performed and exhibited his prowess with much excellence, dispatched a gentleman to the Duke to tell him that this fine horse of his had assisted him to strike those good thrusts with the lance. The Duke replied that he was delighted that his horse had been of such service to the king, but begged him, as did also the queen and the ladies, and the nobles who accompanied them, not exert himself further that day, since the victory was his, the hour late, the weather extremely hot, and the tournament ended. The gentleman departed to carry this message to the king, whom he found prepared to run another course. He had already demanded a fresh lance, although several princes, and particularly he of Ferrara, had begged him to tilt no more that day. But his hour was at hand, and the more they entreated him the more obstinate he became, and opposed their wishes, while swearing on the faith of a gentleman that he would break one lance the more. Then he ordered the Captain Lorges, a very valiant young noble and captain of the Scottish Guard, to come to him. And, when the latter approached, ordered him to run against him. The gentleman excused himself and begged the king not to command him. His Majesty became angry to the degree that Lorges turned his bridle, took a lance and tilted against the king. He struck the king on the gorget, a little below the visor; his lance was splintered, and the stump glancing upwards raised the visor,

into which the splinter entered and wounded the king above the right eye. So strong and violent was the blow that the king inclined his head toward the lists, endeavoring to recover his seat, turned towards the other side of the lists, and would have fallen, if the princes and gentlemen who were at hand on foot and on horseback had not come to his aid. They relieved him of his armour and found him fainting, the splinter in his eye and his face covered with blood. They sought to revive him with fresh water, rosewater and vinegar, but although he recovered consciousness, yet before he reached his chamber he fainted twice. The unhappy young seigneur de Lorges, though he was wounded in his soul, by reason of the anguish which he suffered, as was the king in his body because of his wound, when the king had recovered his senses for the first time, hastened to kneel before him, and without making any excuses or placing the blame for this upon the command of His Majesty, begged him to cut off his hand and his head. However, the good-natured king, who had no equal for kindness in his day, answered kindly that he was not angry with him, and that he had nothing to pardon, since he had obeyed his king and carried himself like a brave knight and a valiant man-at-arm.

After the accident, the tournament ended abruptly. An edict was immediately issued prohibiting future jousts on French soil. The atmosphere of national jubilation was replaced by despair and concern for the future. Because of the tragic ending, no contemporary festival books of the weddings were published.

A pictorial representation of the event, based on letters and memoirs that focused on the fatal joust, was published within eleven years of the occurrence. Two variations of the drama are included in *Premier Volume, CONTENANT QUARANTE TABLEAUX OU Histoires diverses qui sont memorables touchant les Guerres, Massacres, & Troubles advenus en France en ces dernières années. Le tout recuelli selon le tésmoignage de ceux qui y ont esté en personne, & qui les ont veus, lesquels sont pourtrais à la vérité.* (First Volume, CONTAINING FORTY TABLEAUS OR diverse memorable histories that have occurred in France in these last years. All gathered from the testimonies of those who were there in person and saw them, and truly portrayed.)

The work, which was published in Geneva in 1570, is considered to represent the first extended print series to depict chronologically recent events in order to relate a story by the images themselves.[16] The modern equivalent would be classified as photo-journalism. The illustrations were drawn and etched by Jean Perrissin and Jacques

Tortorel, either individually or conjointly. The historical period covered by the graphic works extends from June 1559 to March 1570 and focuses on the issue of French Protestantism and what has been classified as the first three French Wars of Religion (in the years 1562–1563, 1567–1568, and 1568–1570).

Fig. 26. Print 1, Torotel and Perissin, 1570.

The first engraving depicts the "mercuriale," which was the special session of the French Parlement for internal and disciplinary issues. The event took place on June 10, 1559, at the convent of the Augustinian friars rather than the usual Palais de Justice because the latter was being prepared for the royal weddings. The etching captures the moment at which two judges, Anne Du Bourg and Louis Du Faur, were arrested by Constable Montmorency on Henry II's command because those two judges argued for greater leniency toward Protestants, who were regarded as heretics. The graphic depicts Henry II seated in the upper right corner on a throne. Probably, at the center of the floor, it is a bare-headed Du Bourg who is being apprehended by Montmorency, while Du Faur cowers in the process of beseeching mercy.

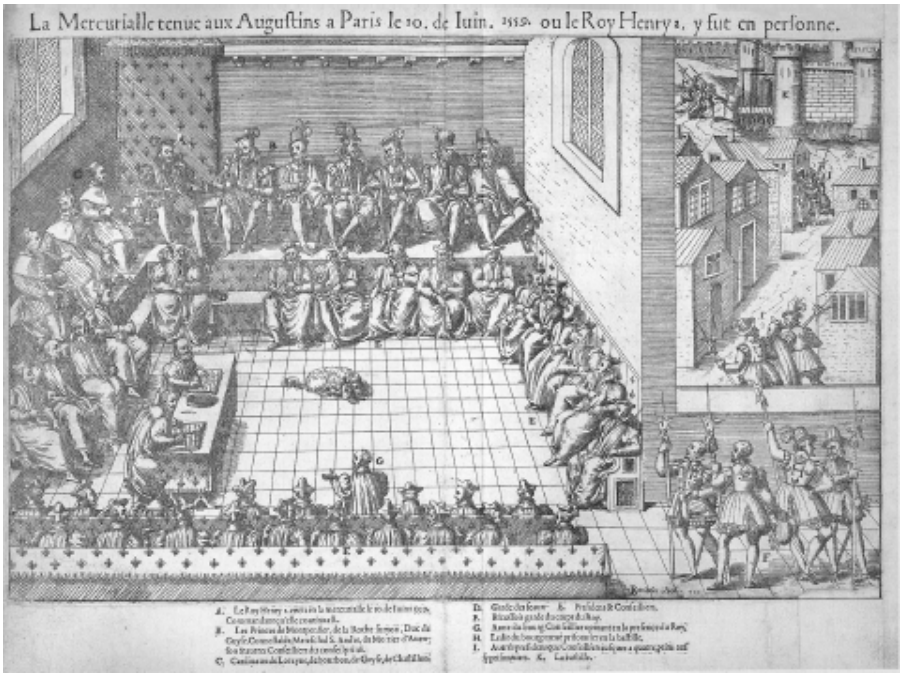


Fig. 27. Print 4, Torotel and Perissin, 1570.

The second graphic representation of the same event is more explicit and defines by means of a lettered key several of the individuals in attendance. Henry II is on a throne in the upper left corner; Anne Du Bourg is standing and pleading his case in the lower mid-center; seated on both sides of the king on the same level, a group of notables include Montpensier, La Roche-sur-Yon, Guise, Montmorency, St. André, the privy councilors d'Avanson and Du Mortier, and the cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon, Guise, and Châtillon. Also identified by a key letter are the Scots Guards, who appear in the lower right corner. An inset presents an outside scene with two prisoners being led into the Bastille.

On December 21, 1559, after six months of imprisonment and multiple appeals, Anne Du Bourg was hung and his body was placed on a pyre in front of the Hôtel de Ville in the Place de Grève. He became one of the most famous martyrs of the French Reformation. A print that depicts his execution is also included in Tortorel and Perrissin's graphic history.

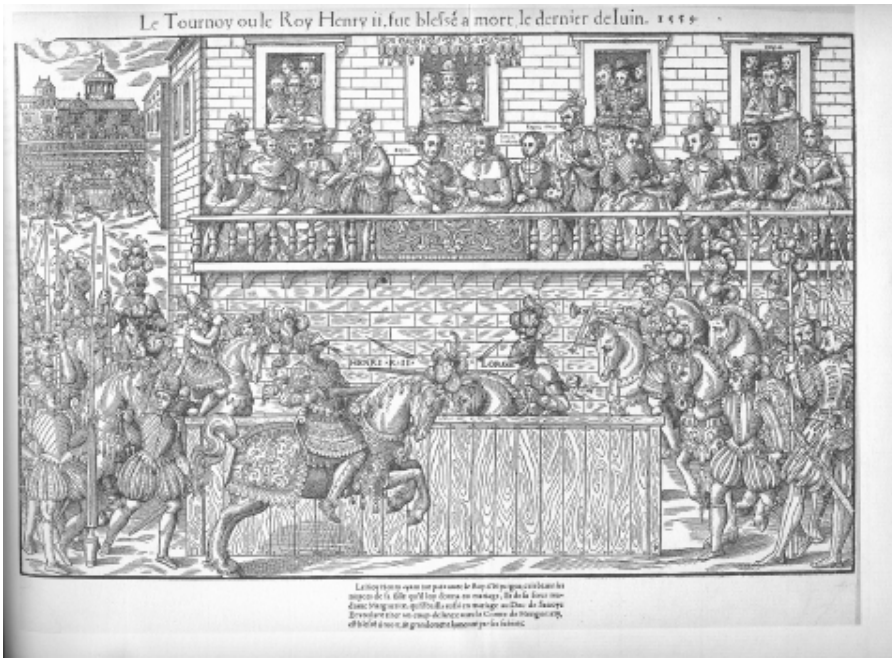


Fig. 28. Print 2, Torotel and Perissin, 1570.

In that work, interposed between the two etchings of the arrest of Anne Du Bourg and the woodcut of his execution, are two woodcuts that bear essentially the same title, "Le Tourney ou le Roy Henry II fut blessé a mort le dernier de Juin 1559" (The Tournament at Which Henry II was fatally Wounded on the last day of June 1559). The first is a close-up view of the fatal joust, and identifies the king "Henri > R > II > " and Gabriel de Lorges, Count of Montgomery "Lorge." The king is clad in elegantly etched armor, and is seated on a horse covered with a caparison and trappings made of embroidered gold and silver cloth or velvet bearing the owner's crest. The horse's head is protected from a lance's blow by a chanfron or iron shield. The tilt is flanked by an assemblage of knights and attendants on both sides.

It is apparent that the lances of each of the opponents have been shattered with the ends flying in the air. The splintered tip of Gabriel de Lorges's lance has penetrated the visor of Henry's helmet. Histories written during the Protestant Reformation point out that Gabriel de Lorges had escorted Anne Du Bourg to the Bastille and had been given a commission just before the tournament to hunt down Protestants in Normandy. Those who endorsed the Protestant cause would emphasize the irony that Gabriel, who, at the time, was a participant in anti-Protestant activities dictated by Henry II, would be an agent of death of the king. It was considered to be the expression of a providential God.

In the woodcut, the tilt is located immediately in front of the royal box along the wall of the Hôtel des Tournelles. Among those seated in full view, Catherine de' Medici (identified as "Regina"), the cardinal of Lorraine, and Mary Queen of Scots are identified as is the Dauphin Francis, who is framed in the window on the far right. Groups of knights and attendants flank both sides of the tilt. In the upper left of the print, a scene depicts men rushing toward Henry's mount to grab the reins and aid the king, who remains seated in the saddle.

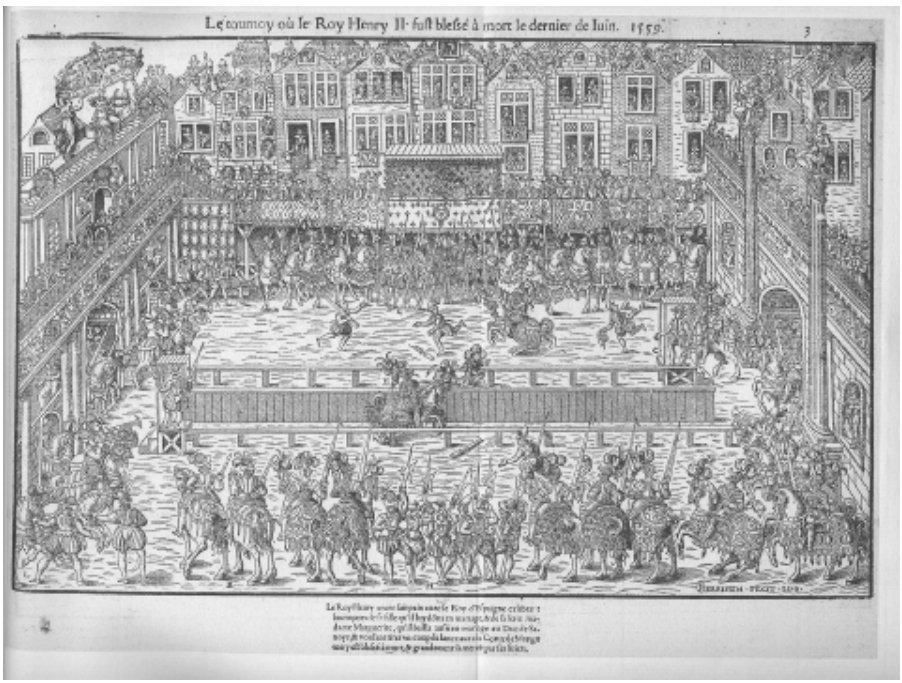


Fig. 29. Print 3, Torotel and Perissin, 1570.

The second graphic representation of the joust was produced for the Forty Tableaus as both a woodcut and an etching. The woodcut includes the letters A through I to identify various individuals or groups, but there is no key to identify the participants. The second graphic essentially zooms out of the first and presents a more panoramic view of the enclosed jousting grounds. The tilt and the two opponents occupy a central location, frozen in time in similar positions, but in a reduced size when compared with the previous print. The two shattered lances with segments in the air and a splinter that has pierced the king's visor are readily visible. An archway that provides entrance to the tiltyard bears the inscription, "HEN II GRA DEI REX GALL INVICTIS" (Henry II by the grace of God unconquered King of France).

Chapter 5
MORTALITY AND MEDICAL MASTERS

Qnce Henry II was put to bed in his royal chambers, the overall management of his care was orchestrated by his wife, Catherine de' Medici. Diane de Poitiers was emphatically denied entrance to the building. The medical aspects were under the direction of the king and queen's principal physician, Jean Chapelain. In the dedication of Ambroise Paré's *Wounds of the Head* to Chapelain, the author wrote: "On every occasion when the appointed physicians and surgeons were assembled to remedy the king's wound, and you, Monsieur, as premier and chief of all, were usually present, to hear the consultations and to give your judgment and advice. . . ."[1]

The court physicians initiated care by removing several splinters from the orbit of the king's right eye, and dressed the wound. In keeping with the practice of the time, they then purged the king's stomach with a potion of rhubarb and mummy.[2] Mummy was a resinous material, supposedly made from ancient Egyptian embalmed mummies. It shared a position of inappropriate esteem with unicorn horn in the treatment of contusions and bruises. Paré would later devote a publication to the denunciation of both (see p. 153). Treatment was continued with bleeding the king of twelve ounces, a second administration of purgatives, and the application of ice to reduce fever. The king was initially given nourishment and the fever subsided.

From July 2 to 4, the king was conscious and conducted state business. He requested the presence of his joust opponent, the Count of Montgomery. When informed that the count had fled Paris, Henry ordered that he be brought back in order to inform him that the king harbored no blame for his actions. On July 3, Henry asked for music to be played, and vowed to visit the shrine of the Virgin near Orleáns after he recovered. He also dictated a letter to the French ambassador in Rome reporting the result of the "mercuriale" or accusation that tried Anne du Bourg and associates. Henry asserted his intention to use force to dispel all acts of heresy. He told Catherine to proceed with the wedding ceremony of his sister Margaret and the Duke of Savoy, but it was rescheduled for July 9 nonetheless.[3] The nuptials did occur on that date in the chambers of Henry's daughter Elizabeth. Catherine did not attend, instead choosing to remain at her husband's bedside.

Early communications presented a favorable prognosis. Constable Montmorency wrote Queen Elizabeth during the first night that "The wound is very severe, but the first and second dressing give good hope that the result will be very satisfactory, and that the worse that can happen will be the loss of the eye."[4] Similarly, Anne of Cossé wrote Marshal Brissac after the wound was dressed on July 1 that "the wound was dressed and found to be better than was thought possible. However, it is believed that he will lose the eye . . . but one can not yet judge with certainty."[5]

It is not known when Ambroise Paré, who was in Paris at the time, was called upon to participate in the king's care. Immediately after the accident, the Duke of Savoy requested the presence of Andreas Vesalius, who was in Flanders with Philip II. Philip received news of the accident on July 2, and Vesalius arrived in Paris on July 3. According to Adam Henrici Petri, a seventeenth-century historian, "as soon as he [Vesalius] entered the king's chamber, he made a trial with a clean white cloth which he put in the king's mouth [to bite] and then pulled it out with some force; whereupon the king threw his hand to his head and cried out from pain. *Chironium vulnus,** he said, a wound that will not heal."[6] Upon his arrival, Vesalius was placed in charge of the case.[7]

As Henry's condition deteriorated on July 4, trephination (making a hole in the skull) to remove blood, which could have been causing excessive and detrimental pressure on the brain, either above or below the dura (lining of the brain), was considered and rejected. As methods of treatment were considered, the heads of four recently decapitated criminals were exposed to thrusts by the splintered stump of the lance, which had inflicted the wound. The heads were then dissected to determine which areas of the brain might have been injured.[8] According to a letter written by Giuseppe Roviglio, a sixteenth-century chronicler, to the Duke of Ferrara, Constable Montmorency had a similar experiment performed to determine the anatomy of the king's injury.[9]

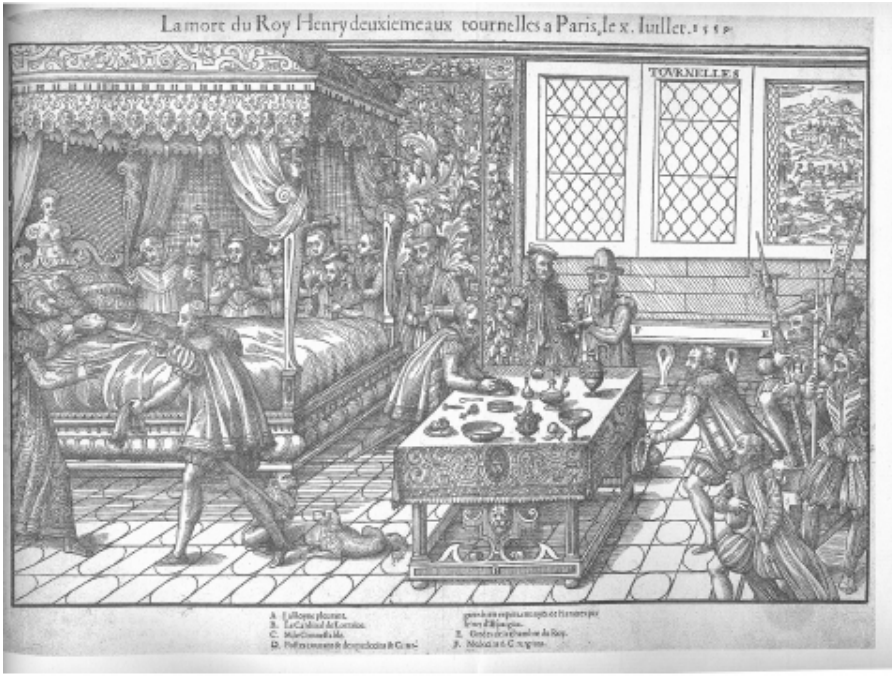


Fig. 30. Print 5, Torotel and Perissin, 1570.

In *Quarante Tableaux* (Forty Scenic Depictions), the two graphics depicting the lethal joust, in which Henry II was injured, are followed by a woodcut entitled *La mort du roy Henry deuxieme aux tournelles a Paris, le x. Julliet, 1559* ("The Death of Henry II at the Tournelles at Paris, July 10, 1559"). The location of the scene is the king's bedroom in the palace adjacent to the jousting grounds, and is identified by the word "TOURNELLES" above the window.

The king rests supine in his elaborately decorated four-posted bed. A bandage encircles his head, and his right eyelid is closed. He appears to be asleep or in coma with his head raised on a pillow. Another pillow bears the identification "Henri Rex." Along the far side of the bed, the cardinal of Lorraine (keyed with the letter B) gestures in prayer. Next to him is Constable Montmorency (keyed with the letter C). To his left is a woman identified in the key as A, "La Royne pleurant" (the crying queen). That group is completed by four other figures, probably three ladies-in-waiting and, perhaps, the shorter individual represents the dauphin, Francis. The tall, bearded figure standing at the foot of the bed is probably Jean Chapelain, the physician in charge of the care of the royal family.

On the other side of the king's bed is a bare-headed gentleman, in stride, bearing a towel and handing a flask to another bearded man, who has an outstretched arm to receive the items. It had been suggested that the bearer of the flask is Vesalius about to carry out a

test on the king, but this is unlikely considering the lack of a professional hat and the fact that the man is wearing a sword. Vesalius, wearing a hat and an embossed coat, is more likely standing to the right side of Ambroise Paré. The two figures are keyed with the letter F, “Medicins & Cirurgiens” (physicians and surgeons). Paré is wearing the hat in vogue for the higher echelons of French men, as evidenced by its similarity to that worn by the constable and the man at the foot of the bed, thought to be Jean Chapelain. The two medical masters, Andreas Vesalius and Ambroise Paré, are in conversation with Paré using a sphere to make his point.

Viewed through an opened window is a scene keyed with the letter “D” indicating messengers and expert physicians and surgeons sent from Flanders by the king of Spain. The guards of the king’s chamber bear the initial “H,” and are identified by the key “E.” The table in the center of the chambers contains a variety of medical accoutrements including flasks, a cup, herbs, and blood-letting instruments. Probably, it is the royal apothecary, who is engaged in the use of a mortar and pestle.

MEDICAL MASTERS

At the onset, five or six of France’s most highly regarded surgeons participated in Henry’s care. The Spanish surgeon Dionisio Daza Chacón, who was part of the Duke of Alba’s entourage, was also in attendance and was the oldest of the surgeons present. Chacón was born in Valladolid in 1503. He had joined the army of Charles V in Flanders in 1545, and was chosen to serve as the emperor’s wound-surgeon and personal physician two years later. He distinguished himself during an epidemic of the plague in Valladolid in that year and, in 1547, was appointed surgeon-in-chief at the Valladolid hospital.

In an era devoid of medical congresses and meetings, which are currently pervasive, the artistic capture of the juxtapositional presence side by side of the two dominant medical personalities of the Renaissance is extraordinary. Vesalius may have participated on the opposite side of Paré at the battle of Hesdin in 1553, but it is unlikely that they met before they joined the medical team in the royal chambers. Thus, the 1570 woodcut by Tortorel and Perressin memorializes the only meeting of these two influential medical figures.

Fig. 31. Dioniso Daza Chacón.

Although it does not merit recognition for its artistry, the extraordinary print, which is included in *Quarante Tableaux*, must rank high on the list of graphic journalism related to medicine. The sixteenth century was a time in which travel was difficult, and there was no venue to provide for the personal exchange of medical information. Therefore, a face-to-face dialogue between the two medical leaders of the time would have been an extremely improbable event. The presence of Paré and Vesalius in attendance for the care of Henry II brings into focus the status of medicine at the time and the

role that the two heroic figures played in its evolution.

The print records a scene that probably occurred on July 3 or 4, 1559. The arrival of Andreas Vesalius at the bedside of Henry II and his association with Ambroise Paré brought together two men with markedly dissimilar backgrounds who had functioned in distinctly different medical environments. Both would eventually earn titles of intellectual paternity, Andreas Vesalius as the “father of modern anatomy” and Ambroise Paré as the “father of modern surgery.” The careers of the two men of medicine evolved along different lines. Separated in age by less than four years, the senior, Paré, was a pragmatic barber-surgeon, whose lineage had no relationship to medicine, and whose education and experience were mainly gained on the battlefield. This was in sharp contrast to Vesalius, whose paternal forebears, extending over several generations, had medical identities. Vesalius, himself, was well educated and a member of the academic elite. The lives of both Paré and Vesalius were significantly affected by the political environment both before and after their monumental meeting.

AMBROISE PARÉ

Ambroise Paré, undeniably the outstanding surgical figure of the sixteenth century, was born in 1510 in the small village of Bourg-Hersent near Laval, France, five years before Francis I was crowned king of France and one year after Henry VIII became king of England. Paré, who would live for eighty years, during which he served as surgeon to four kings of France and the king of Navarre, was the son of a man who was either a maker of wooden chests or a valet and barber to the Siegneur de Laval.[10]

Fig. 32. Ambroise Paré.

Paré's career selection was probably influenced by his older brother, Jehan, who was a master barber-surgeon in Brittany, and his brother-in-law, Gaspard Martin, a master barber-surgeon in Paris. Martin later became a patient of Paré, who amputated Martin's leg employing the revolutionary method of ligature to control the bleeding. Martin died after the procedure.

Paré followed the usual contemporary sequence by beginning his training to become a barber-surgeon with a local apprenticeship at Vitré, which is located between Rennes and Laval. He was next known to have moved to Paris in 1533 in order to pursue further education that would provide the necessary qualifications for his acceptance as a

barber-surgeon.

At the time, Paris was still structurally undeveloped. No bridge crossed the full width of the Seine; the only extant bridges joined either the right or left bank of the river to the Isle de Cité within the river. The conversion of the Louvre from a fortress to a Renaissance palace for Francis I was not complete, and the expansive Hôtel de Ville (city hall) had just begun to be built. The year in which Paré arrived, Paris was in the midst of an epidemic of the plague.

Paré gained residence at the Hôtel Dieu, which was the only public hospital in Paris at the time, as a house surgeon. He resided for three years at that hospital, which had been founded by Saint Landry, bishop of Paris, about 660 and enlarged by Louis IX (later to become Saint Louis) in 1300. While at the hospital, Paré was in charge of the care of many patients, performed autopsies, and carried out dissections. In keeping with the activities of the barber-surgeons, he practiced cupping and venesection (blood-letting), treated fractures and dislocations, and probably was exposed to the prevalent operations of hernia treatment and cutting for bladder stones.

At the same time, he attended lectures by physicians who were members of the University of Paris faculty (surgeons were specifically excluded as lecturers). It was mandated that the lectures be given in Latin, which Paré and his fellow trainees did not understand. Therefore, Paré was forced to rely on French texts, such as those written by Guy de Chauliac and Giovanni da Vigo, which were produced in the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth century, respectively.

Fig. 33. Jacobus Sylvius.

Paré's most influential teacher was Jacobus Sylvius (Jacques Dubois), who had taught Vesalius three years earlier. It was Sylvius, to whom Paré related his seminal and revolutionary management of gunshot wounds when he returned to Paris after his first battlefield experiences. Sylvius then urged Paré to publish his surgical accomplishments, and this led to the 1545 printing of Paré's first book, a sixty-one-page small octavo, *La Méthode de Traicter les Playes Faictes par Harcquebutes et Aultres Bastons à Feu: et de Celles qui sont Faictes par Flêches, par le Pouldre à Canon* [The Method of Treatment of Wounds Made by Arquebuses and other Firearms, and of Those Made by Arrows, Darts, and the like; also the Burns made by Gunpowder, by Ambroise Paré, Master Barber, Surgeon, at Paris, 1545].

At the end of his period of training at Hôtel Dieu, about 1536,

Paré embraced a dual life, part-time acting as a barber-surgeon in Paris and part-time attending to the medical needs of the French army during battle. At the time, there was no specific French army medical service. Barber-surgeons, surgeons of the College of St. Côme, and sundry physicians accompanied troops as they became engaged in battle. For the medical personnel there was neither military rank nor base pay. Compensation was received for individual treatments.

Paré first attached himself to Lord Marshal Montejan, colonel-general of the infantry in the Piedmont. Paré's experiences with the military are detailed in *The Apologie and Treatise, containing the voyages made into divers places by Ambroise Paré of Laval in Maine, Counsellor and cheefe Chirurgion to the King*, which was first published in the fourth edition of his *Oeuvres* in 1585. It represents an autobiography that covers fifty years of the life of Paré, from the age of twenty-six to seventy-five. That edition of *Oeuvres* is considered to be Paré's most inclusive and definitive work. Among the authorities whom he credits in that publication is "Vesalius in his Chirurgery willeth that the vessels be tyed in a flux of blood."[11]

In the *Apologie and Treatise,* Paré covers a period of his military experiences extending from 1537 through 1569, beginning with his first "Journey" to Turin (now Torino in the Piedmont of Italy). In the memoir of that initial experience, there appears, for the first time in print, Paré's most oft-quoted statement, which recurs throughout the text. After describing the dressing of an arquebus-shot wound to the right ankle of Captain Ratt, Paré wrote "I dressed him, and God healed him."[12]

Turin was also the site of one of Paré's most memorable innovations, in which he diverted from the classic management of gunshot wounds and substituted the application of a nonirritating balm for the universally employed cauterization. This therapeutic transformation is presented in Paré's own words in a publication by twentieth-century English surgeon and bibliographer Geoffrey Keynes, who used as his source the folio printed by *Th. Cotes an R. Young, Anno 1634 translated out of Latine and compared with the French by Th. Johnson*. Paré stated:

> Now I was at the time a fresh-water Soldier; I had not yet seene wounds made by gun-shot at the first dressing. It is true, I had read in *John de Vigo*, in the first booke of wounds in generall, the eighth chapter, that wounds made by weapons of fire did participate of Venenosity, by reason of the pouder; and for their cure commands to cauterize them with oyle of Elders scalding hot, in which should be mixed a little Treackle; and to faile, before I would apply of the sayd

> oyle, knowing that such a thing might bring to the Patient great paine, I was willing to know, before I applyed it, how the other Chirurgions did for the first dressing; which was to apply the sayd oil the hottes that was possible into the wounds, with tents and setons; insomuch as I tooke courage to doe as they did. At last I wanted oyle, and was constrained in steed thereof, to apply a digestive made of the yolkes of egges, oyle of Roses, and Turpentine. In the night I could not sleepe in quiet, fearing some default in not cauterizing, that I should finde those to whom I had not used the burning oyle dead impoysoned; which made me rise very early to visit them, where beyond my expectation I found that those to whom I applied my digestive medicine, to feele little paine, and their wounds without inflammation or tumor, having rested reasonably well that night; the others to whom was used the sayd boiling oyle, I found them feverish, with great paine and tumor about the edges of their wounds. And then I resolved with myuyselfe never so cruelly, to burne poore poor men wounded with gunshot wounds.[13]

After the battle at Turin, Paré returned to Paris and qualified as a master barber-surgeon in 1541 at the age of thirty-one. Mention of the Corporation of Barber-surgeons was first made in 1301 when it was indicated that the king's chief barber was the titular head. The group's patron saints were the brothers Cosmas and Damien, who were martyred in the third century while practicing medicine in Syria. Among the miracles attributed to them was the transplantation of the leg of a recently deceased moor onto the amputation stump of a Caucasian. The corporation's headquarters were located at the Church of Saint Sepulchre.

The medical and surgical strata in France were complicated and polarized during Paré's lifetime. The barber-surgeons constituted one distinct group who conducted operations on wounds, performed amputations, and cuttings for bladder stones. Corporation surgeons, a second group, were members of the Collège de St. Côme, whose members confined themselves to minor surgical procedures. A third group, which represented the highest level, was the Faculty of Medicine, which consisted of physicians and excluded surgeons. From ١٥٤١ to ١٥٤٤, Paré was designated as a barber-surgeon.

Paré returned to the military in 1542 and travelled to Perpignan just north of the border between France and Spain, where the French forces conducted a siege of the town occupied by Spanish troops. A year later, he accompanied soldiers to Brittany to thwart an anticipated landing by the English. The landing never took place. In

1544, he proceeded to Landresy. Paré was at the siege of Boulogne in 1545 when Francis Duke of Guise received a severe facial wound that led to his becoming known as "Balafré" meaning "scarred." It is unlikely that Paré was involved in the Duke of Guise's care.

In 1552, at the siege of Metz, Paré was smuggled through enemy lines to care for the wounded within the city. He set a seigneur's leg that had been broken by a cannon ball four days earlier. Paré trephined another gentleman, who had sustained a head injury and was unconscious for fourteen days. In reporting the case, Paré wrote; "I drest him with other Chirurgions, and God cured him, and is at this day living (thirteen years later), God be thanked."[14] This formed the basis for the famous inscription on Paré's memorial statue; "*Je le pansay, Dieu le guarit"* (I took care of him, God cured him).

The first allusion to Paré's second significant contribution, ligation of the major arteries to control bleeding during the amputation of a limb as a replacement for cauterization, appeared in the "Journey to Danvilliers, 1552" segment of *The Apologie and Treatise of Ambroise Paré.* Therein, Paré wrote that "There was a culverin-shot pass'd a traverse the Tent of Monsieur de Rohan, which hit a Gentlemans leg, which was of his traine; which I was faine to finish the cutting off, that was done without applying hot irons."[15]

Paré indicated that, previously, he had often used ligatures to control bleeding vessels in wounds, and that the method was as old as Galen (second century). Before Paré embarked on the use of the ligature during amputation, he discussed the possibility with several Parisian surgeons, who agreed that it was worthy of a trial, if Paré had a cautery on hand in case the ligature should fail.

The famous passage that appears in the 1585 fourth edition of Paré's collected works, *Oeuvres,* reads:

> Verily I confesse, I formerly have used to stanch the bleeding of members after amputation, after another manner than that I have a little before mentioned. Whereof I am ashamed and agrieved; But what should I doe? I had observed my maisters whose method I intended to follow, always to do the like; who thought themselves singularly well appointed to stanch a flux of blood, when they were furnished with variose store of hot Irons and causticke medicines, which they would use to the dismembered part, now one, now another, as they themselves thought meete. Which thing cannot be spoken, or but be thought upon without great horror, much lesse acted. For this kind of remedy cannot but bring great and tormenting paine to the patient, seeing such fresh wounds made in the quicke and sound flesh are endewed with

exquisite sense. Neither can any causticke be applied to nervous bodies, but that this horrid impression of the fire will be presently communicated to the inward parts, whence horrid symptoms ensue, and oft times death itselfe. And verily of such as were burnt, the third part scarce ever recovered, and that with much adoe, for that combust wounds difficulty come to cicatrisation; for by this burning are caused cruell paiines, whence a Feaver, Convulsion, and oft times other accidents worse than these. Adde hereunto, that when the eschar fell away, oft times a new hæmorrhagye ensued, for stanching whereof they were forced to use other causticke and burning Instruments. Neither did these good men know any other course; so by this repetition there was great losse and waste made of the fleshy and nervous substance of the part. Through which the bones were laid bare, whence many were out of hope for cicatrization, being forced for the remainder of their wretched life to carry about an ulcer upon that part which was dismembered; which also tooke away the opportunitie of fitting or putting too of and artificiall legge or arme in stead of that which was taken off.

Wherefore I must earnestly entreat all Chirurgions, that leaving this old, and too cruell way of healing, they would embrace this new, which I think was taught mee by the speciall favour of the sacred Deitie; for I have learnt it not by my maisters, nor of any other, neither have I at any time found it used by any. Onley I have read in *Galen*, that there was no speedier remedy for stanching of blood, than to bind the vessels through which it flowed towards their rootes, to wit, the Liver and Heart.

The precept of *Galen*, of binding and sowing the Veines and Arteries in the new wounds, when as I thought it might be drawne to these which are made by the amputation of members, I attempted it in many; yet so that at in my budding practice thereof, I always had my cauteries and hot Irons in a readiness, that if anything happened otherwise than I expected in this my new worke, I might fetch succour from the ancient practice, until at length confirmed by the happy experience of almost an infinite number of particulars, I bid eternally adieu, to all hot Irons and cauteries which were commonly used in this worke. And I think it fit that Chirurgions doe the like. For antiquity and custome in such things performed by Art, ought not to have any sway, authority, or place contrary to reason, as they oft times have in civill affaires; wherefore let no man say unto us, that the

Ancients have always done thus.[16]

Paré advised the use of two threads together to make a ligature.

After Danvilliers, in 1552, Paré moved on to Toul, Nancy, Verdun, and Metz, where, near the latter, he was smuggled through the lines of Charles V to care for the sick and wounded in that city under siege. Paré was next summoned by Antoine de Bourbon, Duke de Vendôme, later king of Navarre, to serve during the French capture of Château-le-Comte. The duke's commendation of Paré's skills and accomplishments led to Henry II's action to bestow upon Paré the title of Surgeon-in-Ordinary as he joined the king's service. This brought Paré into contact with the leaders of the French court, and made him the equal of the more formally educated surgeons.

In 1553, Paré was captured by the Spaniards at Hesdin, but managed to escape after he had turned down the opportunity to join the service of the Emperor Charles V. In 1554, he was admitted to the Collège de Saint Côme. By that time, the members were anxious to have as a member one who had gained such prominence and had influence at court. The examination, which he took, was perfunctory and the collège waived the customary fees.[17]

Twenty-three years later, Jean Riolan, professor of anatomy at Paris, whose name remains connected to a ciliary muscle attached to the eye and an arcade of the mesentery of the large intestine in which the vasculature is critical for viability of that segment of colon, published a pamphlet criticizing the process of Paré's acceptance into the collège. English surgeon and pathologist Sir James Paget's translation reads:

> The surgeon is to the physician what the dentist is to the surgeon. . . . Among surgeons who are excellent in practice, there are some (everybody knows whom I mean, without having to name them) who cannot decline their own names. We have seen them called from the barber's shops to be Masters of Surgery, and admitted gratis against the rules, for fear the barbers, their superior skills being recognized, should put the college to shame; we have heard them declaiming, in the prettiest way in the world, the Latin that someone else had breathed into them, and no more understanding what they said than school children set to repeat Greek speeches.[18]

In 1557, Paré was in attendance at the decisive battle at Saint Quentin, which took place on August 10. The same year, after that battle, Paré provided care to the injured in the civil war between the

Catholics and Huguenots in France. In 1558, he was sent in disguise to besieged Doullens to care for the sick and wounded.

Adding to his reputation, Paré had established himself as an author early in his career. His first book on wounds, published in 1545 with the advice of Jacobus Sylvius, has been referred to previously. This was followed in 1550 by a small octavo of ninety-six pages titled *Briefe collection de l'administration Anatomique: avec la maniere de conjoindre les os* (A Short Compendium of the Chief Facts of Anatomy with the Articulations of the Bones). The book contained an appendix on obstetrics, in which Paré described, for the first time in print, the use of podalic (foot first) extraction of the fetus, a procedure that had been used by the ancients and that Paré admittedly had seen others use. A second edition of the book on gunshot wounds appeared with additions and a dedication to the king in 1551 and 1552 as an octavo of eighty pages.

Thus, Paré's presence as a consultant in the care of the injured Henry II provided input from the most experienced European military surgeon, the most notable of French surgeons, and an official member of the king's medical coterie. It is probable that Paré arrived shortly after the king was put to rest in his chambers.

ANDREAS VESALIUS

The fact that Vesalius, on his arrival, was placed in charge of the Henry II's medical care was in keeping with the highest esteem in which he was held and his prestige throughout Europe. Paré would have agreed with the action, as is evidenced by the fact that in his *Apology and Treatise* he would quote Vesalius as an authority, based upon Vesalius's stature, which had been gained in 1543 with the publication of his *de Humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (A Set of Seven Books of Human Anatomy).

The great divide in modern medicine is referred to, in current parlance, as "town and gown." "Town" represents the practicing physicians who care for patients disassociated from a university medical center, while "gown" is the smaller subset of individuals who hold full-time university appointments and function as faculty members within that university while caring for patients. Ambroise Paré not only practiced outside the world of academia, but was the frequent target of criticism by members of the faculty of the University of Paris. His reputation was based on experience gained in the care of patients on the battlefield and in city homes and hospitals. By contrast, Andreas Vesalius gained his reputation within the walls of the leading medical school of the time. His stature grew as a consequence of his deliberate and painstaking investigations of human

cadavers. He was a “professor” of knowledge, which he had personally acquired by his own dissections.

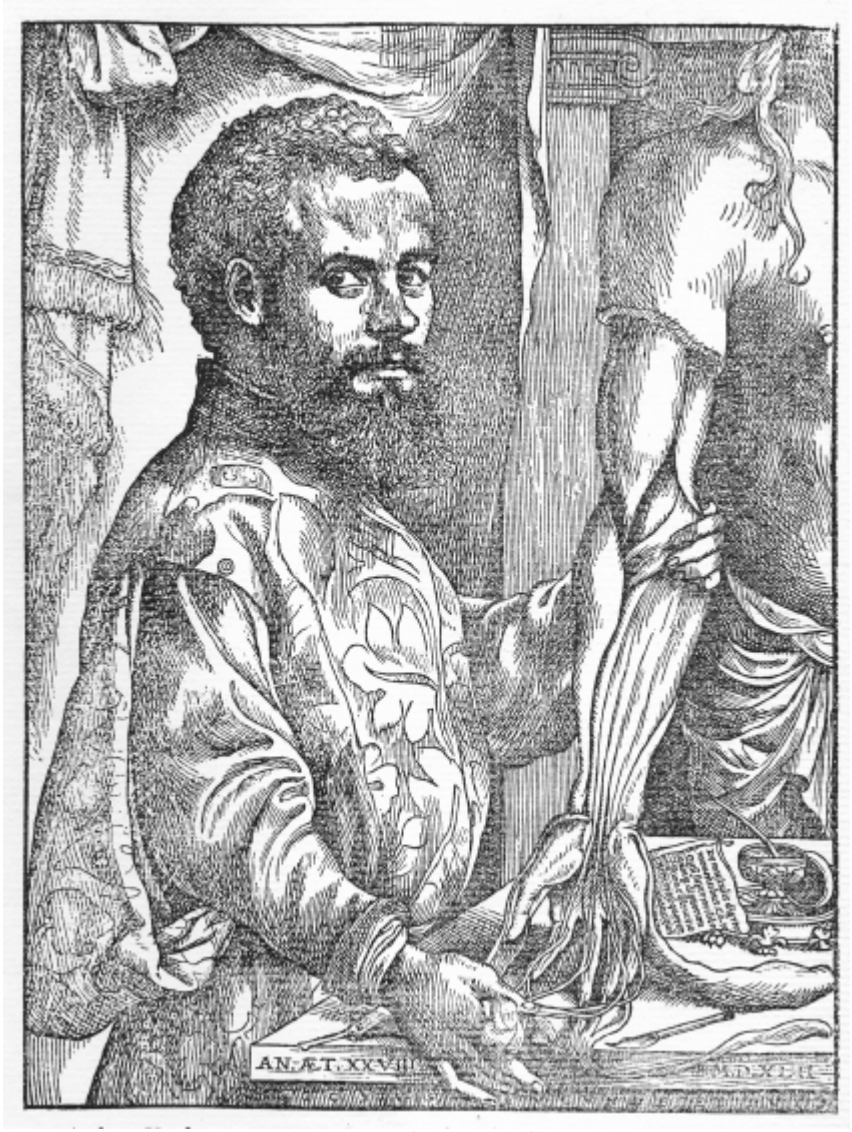


Fig. 34. Andreas Vesalius.

It might be argued that Vesalius, who was born in Brussels, December 31, 1514, about four years after Parè, had been genetically imprinted to perform as he did. According to Vesalius’s own writing in the China Root Epistle (*Andreæ Vesalii Bruxellensis, me dici Cæsarei epistola, rationem modumque propinandi radicis Chynæ decocti*), his great-great-grandfather, Peter, was a physician who wrote a treatise on the works of the great Arab physician Avicenna. Vesalius’s great-grandfather Johannes de Wesalia was a member of the faculty of the

University of Louvain, and competed for the chair of medicine in the middle of the fifteenth century. He became the city physician of Brussels, which at the time was part of the Netherlands, and physician to Mary of Bourbon, the wife of Emperor Maximilian. Vesalius's grandfather Everard de Wesalia also received a medical degree from the University of Louvain and became physician to Archduke Maximilian, regent of the Netherlands. Andreas Vesalius's father, Andries Van Wesele, was the illegitimate son of Everard and was trained as an apothecary. He served Margaret of Austria and then Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire as a valet de chambre.

Andreas Vesalius's early education took place in Brussels at the "Brothers of Common Life," where he completed the "trivial" studies, so-named because they consisted of three elements: grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. He also learned Greek and Latin. Vesalius then matriculated under the name of Andreas van Wesel de Bruxella at the University of Louvain on February 25, 1530. Shortly thereafter, as a consequence of service to the emperor, the blemish of illegitimacy was formally removed from his father.

In the fall of 1533, Andreas began his medical studies at the University of Paris, which was regarded more highly than Louvain. As was the case with Paré, the university faculty relied on the fourteenth-century teachings of Guy de Chauliac, the most eminent European medical figure during the Middle Ages. Guy de Chauliac lived from about 1300 to 1368 and served as physician to Pope Clement VI and his two successors to the papal throne in Avignon, France. Guy de Chauliac's definitive work, *Chirurgia Magna* (Great Surgery), which was published originally in 1363, still served as the dominant textbook at the University of Paris in the sixteenth century.

During Vesalius's student days in Paris, two members of the faculty had particular and lasting influences on his career as an anatomist. Jacobus Sylvius (Jacques Dubois) (1478–1555) (see figure 33) was the same anatomist who later encouraged Paré to publish his first experiences with the revolutionary treatment of gunshot wounds. Sylvius stimulated Vesalius's interest in anatomy, and Vesalius lauded his teacher in the preface to *de Humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (A Set of Seven Books of Human Anatomy), in which Vesalius referred to his mentor as "the never-to-be sufficiently praised Jacobus Sylvius." But, Sylvius based his own teachings solely on the writings of Galen that, in turn, was the result of animal rather than human dissections. This would later lead to a distinct and, at times, vitriolic polarization between Sylvius and Vesalius.

Fig. 35. Jean Guinter d' Andernach.

Fig. 36. Teaching ex cathedra, from one of Vesalius's books.

The other major influence on Vesalius was Jean Guinter d' Andernach (1505–1574), another staunch disciple of Galen. In

keeping with the custom of the times, Guinter would sit and lecture from a high chair while a student performed a dissection. Vesalius, as a pupil, conducted dissections for the professor, and Guinter credited Vesalius with the discovery of the spermatic veins, overlooking the fact that Mondino da Luzzi had previously described those vessels in his *Anathomia* of 1316 and had credited Avicenna with being the source of his description.[19]

In 1536, because war broke out between Emperor Charles V's Holy Roman Empire and France, Vesalius's status as an enemy alien student forced him to return to Louvain, where he completed his medical studies. While he was at Louvain, Vesalius prepared and published his first work, *Paraphrasis in nonum librum Rhazae medici arabis clariss, ad Regem Almansorem* (Paraphrase of the Ninth Book of the Arab Physician Rhazes to King Almansor) in which he compared the medicines used by the Arabs with that of the Greeks.[20]

The site of Vesalius's major contribution that ensured his reputation was the University of Padua. The university (the second oldest university in Italy), which was formally established in 1222, was protected by the Republic of Venice, and, therefore, enjoyed freedom from control by the Roman Catholic Church. The first university building was erected in 1299, and Padua became the university town of the Venetian Republic. By the end of the fourteenth century, the school of medicine gained separate status, and by the sixteenth century it had become the most distinguished school of medicine in Europe. At the time that Vesalius worked in Padua, the study of anatomy was encouraged by the Theatin monks, who cared for the sick. That order was headed by J. Peter Caraffa, who later became Pope Paul IV, and Ignatius Loyola, a founder of the Jesuits.

Among the significant scientists with a University of Padua association was Nicolaus Copernicus, who studied law there, William Harvey, who graduated with a degree in medicine in 1602, and later defined the circulation of blood, and Galileo Galilei, who served as professor of geometry, mathematics, and astronomy from 1592 to 1611. In 1594, Hieronymus Fabricius of Acquapendente, known as the "Father of Embryology," directed the construction of the world's first theater for anatomical dissection. It still remains and can be visited.

Vesalius arrived in Padua to continue his medical studies in 1537, and, according to *Quarante Tableaux*, Vesalius's biographer Moritz Roth, on December 5 of that year, "the aforesaid Andreas Vesalius was examined separately and thoroughly in medicine on the matters assigned to him yesterday, and because he conducted himself very well in this, his rigorous examination . . . he was approved unanimously and judged sufficient in medicine. . . . Immediately the distinguished doctor of medicine Francesco Frigimelica, in his own

name and that of the other doctors and cosponsors, granted him the insignia of the faculty."[21] The next day, Vesalius assumed the position of demonstrator of anatomy and, shortly thereafter, became professor of anatomy and surgery.

Vesalius's appointment to the chair almost immediately following his examination may have been related to a combination of circumstances: Vesalius's excellent performance and that the chair was not considered to be of great significance relative to the other chairs of the medical faculty.

Vesalius began his teaching by employing the texts of Galen and his own Parisian teacher Guinter d' Andernach. His deviation from the past was that Vesalius performed the dissections of the cadavers by himself rather than adhering to the policy in which a barber-surgeon performed the dissection while the professor sat and lectured from a high chair or *cathedra*.

The result of his personal dissections led Vesalius to question some of Galen's universally accepted doctrines and, unlike his own teachers and his predecessors in the field of anatomy, Vesalius concluded that the great Galen was fallible. Vesalius created a series of detailed illustrations to facilitate the students' learning. They were drawn to specifically replicate what the anatomist/dissector saw, and to compensate for an inadequate supply of cadavers. The drawings were a fusion of traditional teachings, animal anatomy, and the anatomy defined by dissection of human cadavers.

The dissections and teaching experience of Vesalius in 1537 led to three publications by him during 1538 and 1539. The earliest of the three, *Tabulae anatomicae*, also known as *Tabulae sex*, consisting of six 19 by 13 ½ woodcut illustrations, was published in April 1538. The first three illustrations were drawn by Vesalius and represented the portal, caval, and arterial vascular systems. The errors depicted in the illustrations suggest that they were based on dissections of simians rather than humans. The heart, which was depicted, is that of an ape. The illustrated liver has the five lobes, as had been shown previously by medieval anatomists. The three illustrations by Vesalius are followed by three views of the human skeleton drawn by Joannes Stephanus of Calcar.

The work represented a break with the past in that, for the first time, the illustrations depicting human anatomy were of sufficient size and detail to permit study, and that there was integration between the descriptive text and accompanying drawing. The inclusion of Greek, Latin, and also some Hebrew and Arabic terms advanced anatomical nomenclature. The prostate was depicted for the first time.[22] Only two copies of the first edition of *Tabulae Anatomicae Sex* exist, one in the University of Glasgow library and the other in the Bibliotheca

Nationale Marciana.

One month after *Tabulae Anatomicæ Sex* appeared, Vesalius published a revised edition of an anatomy text by his teacher in Paris, Guinter's *Institutiones anatomicae*. In 1539, Vesalius published his Venesection Epistle (*Andreæ Vesalii Bruxellensis, scholæ medicorum Patanuinæ professoris publici, Epistola Docens venam axillarem dextri cubiti in dolore laterali secandam: & melancholicum succum ex venæ portæ ramis ad sedem pertintibus pergari*), which dealt with the medieval concept of blood-letting—a procedure widely employed for diverse ailments. At issue was whether the blood should be drawn from a site near the location of the illness, as advocated by Galen, or from a distant location, as practiced by the Muslims. Vesalius supported Galen, and his conclusion that the azygos vein, which is located on the right side, drained both sides of the chest led to his assertion that all chest inflammations should be treated by venesection of the right arm.

Vesalius's revolutionary concept that led to his appellation as "The father of modern anatomy" was that the study of human anatomy must be based on dissection of human cadavers and could not be based solely on extrapolation from the analysis of lesser mammals. He continued to regard Galen with reverence for his seminal contributions, but felt obliged to uncover some significant errors in Galenic conclusions.

Vesalius initially noted disparities between the classical assertions by Galen and the actual findings brought forth by dissection of human cadavers as he conducted his classes in Padua. In 1541, while demonstrating human anatomy in Bologna by invitation, it became apparent to Vesalius that Galen's anatomic research was based solely on animal dissection since investigations on cadavers were forbidden in ancient Rome at the time of Galen's studies. At the same time, Vesalius came to appreciate that much of Galen's anatomic descriptions actually resulted from dissections of Barbary apes. Vesalius did not direct his efforts toward a denigration of Galen, for whom he maintained great veneration throughout his life, but rather introduced appropriate corrections and improvements.

Fig. 37. Title page from the first edition of *Fabrica*.

The defining work of Vesalius, *de Humani corporis fabrica libri septem* was composed between the winter of 1539–1540 and the summer of 1542. It was published by Joannes Oporinus (Herbst) in Basel, Switzerland, in the summer of 1543, when Vesalius was twenty-eight years old, the same year that Nicolaus Copernicus's revolutionary book defining the heliocentric theory, *De revolutionibus orbium celestium* (Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres) appeared in

print. By comparison, *Gray's Anatomy*, consisting of 750 pages and 363 figures, was first published in 1858 when Henry Gray was thirty-one years old. Vesalius's work was the most detailed presentation of human anatomy of its time and for centuries thereafter. *Fabrica*, a forty-centimeter folio of 663 (misnumbered 659) pages and 204 major and minor woodcut illustrations, was dedicated to Emperor Charles V. The most reproduced portion of the book is the fourteen full-page muscle men, included in Book II. Virtually all the superficial muscles are depicted in the dramatically posed bodies against a background of the Euganean Hills, located about six miles southwest of the city of Padua. As pointed out by the great neurosurgeon and bibliophile Harvey Cushing, the book has been more admired, more pictorially reproduced, and less read than any publication in the history of science.[23]

Fabrica provides evidence that Vesalius held Galen in high regard, but that his personal dissection of human cadavers, apes, and dogs introduces evidence of Galen's source and corroborates or disproves specific statements attributed to Galen. This distinction between findings in different species also has earned Vesalius recognition as the first comparative anatomist.

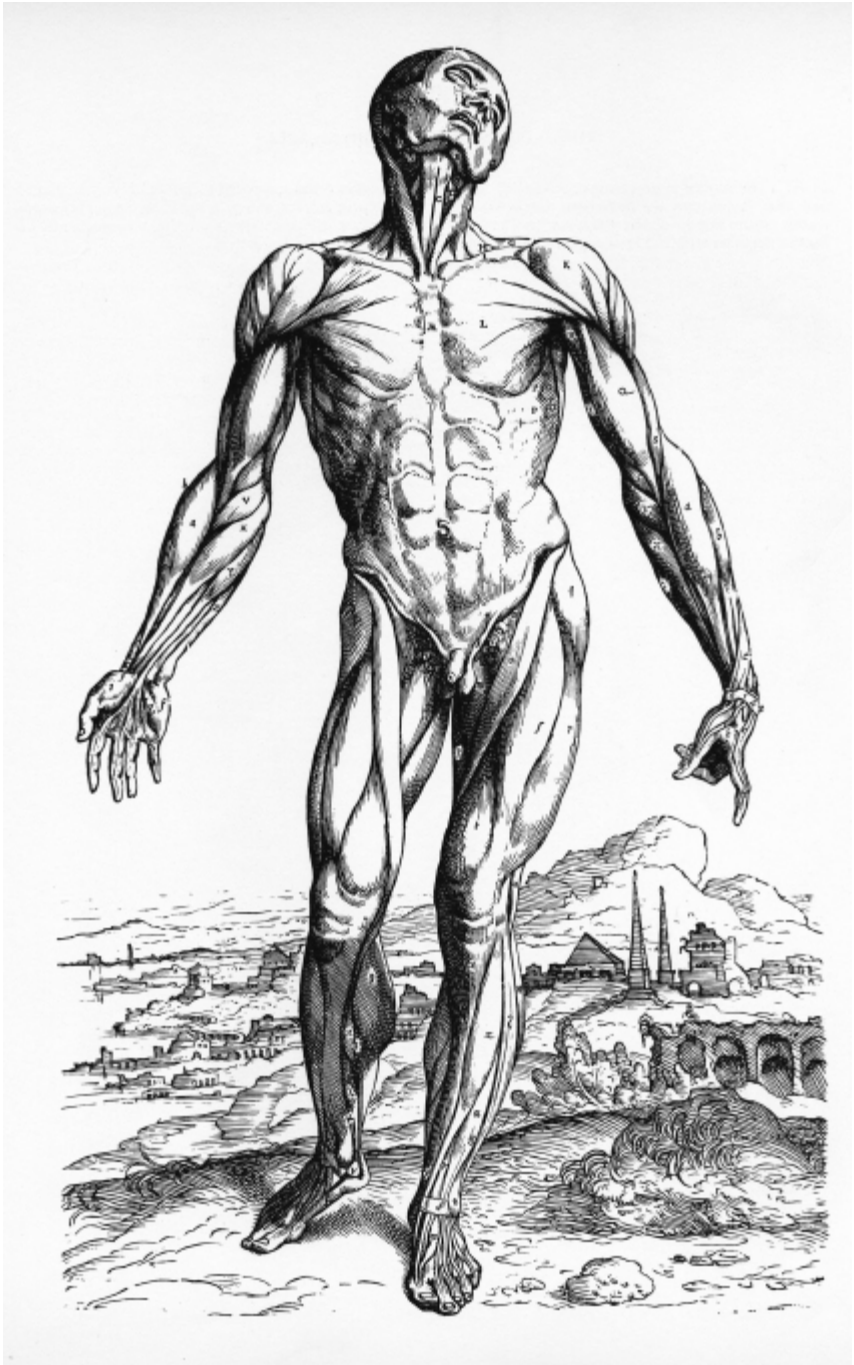


Fig. 38. Muscle man (from *Fabrica*).

Vesalius's advancements in the book include: the appreciation that the sternum consists of three distinct bones, the discovery that the sacrum is made up of five or six boney sections, the first accurate description of the sphenoid bone in the front of the skull, that the

mandible (the lower jaw) is a single bone rather that two joined at the apex of the chin, correction of the belief that the hemorrhoidal veins were part of the caval venous system, correction of Galen's assertion that the vena cava originated at the liver rather than the heart, the first delineation of the azygos vein, discovery of a channel between the umbilical vein and vena cava of the fetus (*ductus venosus*), and an accurate description of the greater omentum (a sheet of fat surrounded by peritoneum in the abdomen). Vesalius went on to correct Galen's erroneous view of the vermiform appendix and offered his own indication that it resembled "a thick, coiled worm rather than the intestine" (explaining the application of the word "vermiform"—from the Latin word *vermis* for "worm") as an adjective for the appendix. Vesalius pointed out the absence of multiple lobes of the liver (Galen thought there were five), the absence of a duct from the gall bladder directly into the stomach, the fact that the human uterus is usually not cornuate (hornlike), the absence of pores in the septum between the right and left chambers of the heart, the resemblance of the valve of the left atrioventricular orifice to a bishop's miter (leading to it being named the mitral valve), and the absence of the *rete mirabile* (the conduit for vital spirits from the heart to the brain to initiate brain function) in the human.

Fabrica was not directed at students, but rather at physicians and anatomists. For students, Vesalius created *Andrea Vesalii suorum de corporis fabrica librorum epitome* (Andreas Vesalius' Abridgement of Human Anatomy) simply known as *Epitome,* which was published by Oporinus in Basel in June 1543, and dedicated to King Philip II of Spain. The format of *Epitome* was larger than *Fabrica*, with at least six centimeters more in page length, pages labeled A to M with all but M having printed material on both sides. The title page and the portrait of Vesalius are the same as those in *Fabrica.* These are followed by nine full-page illustrations including a male and female nude.

The publication of Vesalius's work evoked harsh criticism, particularly from two staunch Galenists with whom he had previous association. Jacobus Sylvius, his teacher in Paris and erstwhile admirer, launched a hostile and verbally abusive publication campaign that Vesalius later rebutted in his own *China Root Epistle,* a 204-page small folio that was published in Basel in 1546. The other significant critic was John Caius, who, for a brief period, was a housemate of Vesalius in Padua. Caius (1510–1573) was physician to King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth and the founder of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

In early August 1543, when copies of *Fabrica* and *Epitome* were available at Oporinus's press in Basel, Vesalius left that city with copies to personally present them to Charles V and to seek

employment in the emperor's entourage. Vesalius immediately was accepted by the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire as "medicus familiaris oridnarius" (regular physician to the household), a position that he held until Charles V's abdication in 1556.

Vesalius's first participation in a military campaign was against the Duchy of Cleves. With the exception of one brief interlude, Vesalius, the scientific investigator and teacher, morphed into a physician and surgeon in active practice either on the battlefield or in civilian venues. His one return to academia was in response to Duke Cosimo de' Medici's invitation to present anatomical demonstrations at the University of Pisa in 1544. On that occasion, his audience consisted of over five hundred scholars on each of the several days that Vesalius offered instruction. At that time, an effort was made to have him permanently join the faculty.

In his initial encounters with military injuries, Vesalius used the obsolete treatment of boiling oil and cautery for gunshot wounds. He was obviously not acquainted with Paré's contribution at that time. At the battle at Saint Dizier in July 1545, Vesalius first learned of Paré's innovative method of treating gunshot wounds.[24] That year, while home in Brussels, Vesalius apparently performed the earliest successful operation for osteomyelitis (an infection of the bone) at the lower end of the femur.[25]

In 1546, Vesalius published the *China Root Epistle*, in which he indicated that the recently introduced preparation known as china root was no more efficacious than wood guaiac (a resin) for the treatment of a variety of ailments. The same publication includes a lengthy defense of *Fabrica* against the Galenists' attacks.

According to the Spanish surgeon Dionisio Daza Chacón, in 1547, while in Augsburg with the emperor, Veslaius drained an empyema of the chest (pus in the chest cavity).[26] This represented the first revival of the procedure, which had been suggested in the Hippocratic writings. The patient died, but, in 1562, Vesalius wrote about three additional cases in which the outcome was successful.[27] Between 1553 and 1556, Vesalius conducted a thriving private practice in Brussels.

Fig. 39. Title page from the second edition of *Fabrica*.

According to its colophon, the second edition of *Fabrica* was published at Basel in August 1555. The title page, which bears a revised dissection scene, identifies the author, Andreae Vesalii, as "physician of the Emperor Charles V," in contradistinction to the first edition wherein he is referred to as "professor of medicine at Padua." Also on the title page, the two nude spectators, which were included on the title page of the first edition, are clothed.

After Charles V abdicated his throne as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1556, his son Philip II incorporated the Netherlands, which included modern-day Belgium, as part of the Spanish Empire. Vesalius became part of Philip's retinue and was given the title of Count Palatine in recognition of his role as physician to the Netherlands rather than physician to the king at the court of Madrid. Vesalius was often engaged to care for personnel at the foreign embassies. It logically followed that Philip II would rapidly respond to the urgent request for Vesalius to rush to Paris.

MORTALITY

With both Andreas Vesalius and Ambroise Paré in attendance, beginning on the fifth day after the accident, paralysis of the king's left arm and left leg became persistent; and repeated and prolonged convulsions of the entire right side of his body were observed. On the ninth day, the clergy organized a procession for the king's recovery. On the evening of the tenth day after the accident, the king broke out in a profuse sweat that lasted throughout the night. Henry's left arm and leg became paralyzed, and it was noted that the left side of his chest participated minimally during breathing. Respiration became more labored, and death occurred at one o'clock in the afternoon, on the eleventh day after the injury. Vesalius was of the opinion that it had been accelerated, with the persuasion of some of the nobles, by the administration of wine to which sage and some calefacients (heat-producing elements) were added.[28]

Vesalius's report of the autopsy findings, which are located in a document preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, defined the injury and its consequences. In describing the injury Vesalius wrote:

> It [the lance] first struck the middle of the eyebrows, the root of the nose, and the inner part of the left eyebrow. From there it continued on through the whole lower part of the right eyebrow to the temple, and by its many splinters so insinuated itself between the body of the right eye and its socket that the greatest impact was sustained by the socket itself. Many splinters were driven into its lateral wall, and there the lance settled, twisting and compressing and so undoubtedly causing a very severe concussion of the brain.

In reference to the autopsy finding he stated:

> Despite the fact that the left eye was immediately swollen, it

retained full vision, indicating that there had not been a breakdown of the nervous force. The bone of the skull in the frontal region appeared completely uninjured and intact although there was an oedematous swelling of the forehead. The superior part of the nasal bone was not at all bare and had suffered from contusion rather than abrasion. The external side of the socket of the right eye was completely denuded of membrane and was rough. Its innermost and posterior aspect still contained a large number of splinters, which, like stakes, had been driven in a kind of circle which chiefly occupied a position between the socket and the lower aspect of the eye. Their tips had penetrated the hard covering of the eye so that small splinters extended into it from as far as the superior part of the socket and the anterior region of the eye, which otherwise seemed uninjured and intact in content and appearance.

The membranes of the brain and the brain itself at the forehead and at the right socket of the eye, which one might believe could have been preserved only by extraordinary chance, appeared quite unharmed, and the dural membrane appeared everywhere uninjured. But the membrane attached to it somewhat posteriorly at the vertex had a yellowish color for the length of one finger, the width of two, and the depth of a thumb. The whole of the left part was observed to be filled with a serous ichor-like fluid which flowed away as if the whole had recently been affected by putrefaction or some sort of gangrene.

In the region where the suppuration [accumulation of pus] occurred, the dural membrane was observed to have vessels more distended and blackish than elsewhere, but between this structure and the skull was some grumous [clotting] blood. The skull and the skin that, as may already have been conjectured, had been scraped off, showed nothing abnormal, although at some time, as a scar indicated, the king had been wounded there. Thus the putrid condition gave proof that the brain had collided with the skull and had been concussed and shocked by it, and not that the condition had been caused by an injury to the skull.[29]

Current analysis suggests that because the membranes surrounding the brain appeared to be intact, had modern antibiotic therapy been available and administered prophylactically, Henry might have survived.

Ambroise Paré participated in the autopsy and embalming of

Henry II that took place on July 11. The heart was placed in an urn, which was moved to the high altar of the Church of Celestins in Paris. The entrails were sealed in a lead vessel, and placed in the sepulcher of the Dukes of Orléans in the same church. The ornately dressed embalmed body was returned to the deathbed in the Hôtel des Tournelles, where Constable Montmorency and other nobles maintained a vigil.

An effigy of the dead king, surrounded by the scepter, crown, and hand of justice, was laid out in the *salle d'honneur* (hall of honor), which had been constructed for the occasion in the park of the Tournelles. On July 29, the king's corpse replaced the effigy in the *salle d'honneur,* and attendants carried out their duties as if the king was alive. Meals were prepared and then given to the poor. Requiem masses were repeated frequently.

On August 4, the *salle d'honneur* was draped in black and converted into a funeral hall. The corpse was placed on a funeral bier. Two days later, the new king, accompanied by an entourage, blessed his father's corpse with holy water. The funeral hall was the site of visits from many members of the nobility for one week, at which point a funeral mass was conducted, and the corpse was transported to Nôtre Dame in a solemn procession. The official requiem mass was conducted by the bishop of Paris, and the funeral oration was given by Jerome de la Rovère, bishop of Toulon.[30] In that sermon, the bishop stated that, shortly before Henry II died, he summoned the dauphin and "recommended to him his church and his people, and declared that he [Henry II] persisted and remained firm in the faith in which he was dying."[31] This occurrence was highly unlikely in view of the king's condition at the time.

On August 12 after forty days of various burial rites, a large assembly of nobility, clergy, and townspeople escorted the coffin to the church of Saint Denis, the patron saint of Paris and France. A series of masses culminated with the mass of internment delivered by the cardinal of Lorraine, abbot of Saint-Denis. Henry's effigy was removed from the coffin, and the coffin, accompanied by symbols of office, was lowered into the crypt that currently houses all but three of the kings of France. Constable Montmorency then exclaimed, "The king is dead!" The royal herald repeated the exclamation and added, "Let us all pray to God for his soul!" The royal baton was passed on to Francis II with the cry, "Live! Francis the king, the second with that name, by the grace of God, the most Christian king!"

Chapter 6
AFTERMATH: COURSE OF THE CONSULTANTS

The four decades of the sixteenth century subsequent to the death of Henry II were troubling times. There were major shifts of European power and political consequences that were related, in part, to the instability caused by the premature death of one of the continent's two dominant monarchs. The lives and careers of most of the individuals who attended at the fatal joust or participated in the king's care were also dramatically altered. Since it was, admittedly, the graphic depiction of the two dominant medical contributors to the Renaissance that provided the stimulus for this work, it is reasonable to begin by following the course of their respective lives after they attended the French monarch.

Andreas Vesalius, the most renown of the medical men, had the most abbreviated life. The time span from his role as the designated physician in charge of the care of the French king until his own death was only five years.

After participating in the autopsy of Henry II, Vesalius returned to Brussels and, in August 1559, sailed from Flanders to Spain as part of Philip II's entourage. Vesalius traveled, bearing the title of Count Palatine, as physician to the Netherlanders at the court.[1] During his stay in Spain, he was in constant demand by members of the foreign embassies for the treatment of their ailments.

In 1561, Vesalius received a copy of the recently published *Observationes anatomicae* by Gabriele Fallopio, who occupied the chair of anatomy at Padua, the same chair that Vesalius had made illustrious. Vesalius and Fallopio, the two greatest anatomists of the sixteenth century, never met. Vesalius's response to Fallopio's publication, which included disagreements with elements of Vesalius's *Fabrica,* was the basis of Vesalius's posthumous 1564 publication *Examen*, the manuscript that the author left with the publisher in Venice just before he embarked for the Holy Land.

In 1562, Vesalius became involved in another notable case, the care of the injured Don Carlos, son of Philip II and heir to the throne of Spain. Don Carlos was born to Philip and his first wife, Princess Maria of Portugal, on July 8, 1545. Maria suffered a hemorrhage and died four days after the birth at age seventeen. Don Carlos was born with teeth and was known to have chewed the breasts of his wet

nurse. Throughout his youth he was infamous for his aberrant and malicious behavior patterns. He was overtly cruel to animals and demeaned his attendants. He was physically immature for his age, had a disproportionately large head, one shoulder was higher than the other, the left leg was longer than the right, his chest was sunken, and there was a lump on his back at the level of his waist.[2] He also suffered from the quartan fever of malaria.

When he was seventeen, Don Carlos was sent from the malarial environment of Madrid to the university town of Alcalá de Henares, where his febrile condition improved. On April 19, 1562, while running down a staircase in pursuit of a young lady who was walking in the garden, he slipped and fell striking his head against a door at the foot of the staircase.

Fig. 40. Don Carlos.

He was initially attended by Dionizio Daza Chacón, who had been a member of the Spanish entourage to Paris at the time of the marriage of Philip II and Elizabeth of Valois, and also participated in the care of Henry II. After returning to Spain from France, Chacón continued in his role as surgeon-in-chief at the hospital in Valladolid. In 1563, he was designated physician to Don Carlos, and four years later entered the service of Don Juan of Austria, in which capacity he provided medical care at the battle of Lepanto in 1571. Daza Chacón, who is regarded as Spain's leading surgeon during the Renaissance, gained renown for the most comprehensive book on surgery written in Spanish up to that time, *Practica y teorica de cirurgia en romancy y en latin* (Practice and Theory of Surgery in the Romance Languages and

in Latin), which was published in Valladolid, in 1600, four years after Daza Chacón died at the age of eighty-six.

In that book a detailed narrative of the medical course of Don Carlos appears. It includes more than fifty consultations, fourteen in the presence of Philip II and Vesalius.[3] Don Carlos injured the posterior area of his head. The wound was the size of a thumbnail, the edges were contused, and the pericranium (the area around the skull) was laid bare. The prince regained consciousness, and was bled eight ounces on two occasions during the first day of care. He became feverish and intermittently delirious, and although Vesalius recommended trephination (drilling a hole in the skull to relieve the pressure), it was not carried out.

Because of persistence of fever for four weeks and the onset of pain upon pressure to the eye, bilateral periorbital drainage around both eyes was performed. The prince's fever abated and he rapidly improved, only to live out his brief life in a bizarre fashion. His aberrant behavior led to permanent confinement to the tower in Alcázar by order of Philip II in 1567. Don Carlos repeatedly attempted suicide, eventually covering himself with ice to induce an illness, from which he died on July 24, 1568, at the age of twenty-three.

Little is known of Vesalius's life subsequent to his involvement in the care of Don Carlos. Between the summer and end of the year 1562, he drained four cases of empyema using the incision at the tenth rib that he had employed and described for the first time in 1547. The latter procedure represented its first application during the Renaissance.[4]

His final voyage and death remain shrouded in mystery. In the spring of 1564, he left Spain for Jerusalem. The motivation for the journey is not known, it but might have been related to his growing displeasure with the medical environment in Spain, or perhaps he was on a pilgrimage to express gratitude for recovery from an illness. At that time, subsequent to the death of Fallopio, Vesalius was considering returning to his professorial position at Padua. In any event, Vesalius traveled from Brussels to Marseilles and on to Venice by sea. In Venice, he left the manuscript for his *Examen* with the publisher, Francesco dei Franscesci.[5]

It is likely that Vesalius sailed from Venice, along the Dalmatian coast to the port of Jaffa, and proceeded overland to Jerusalem. His presence in the Holy Land is confirmed in a book by a Franciscan priest.[6] The most reliable contemporary account of Vesalius's return voyage and ultimate demise was written by sixteenth-century Italian historian Pietro Bizzari. In his book *Historia della guerra fatta in Ungheria* (History of the Hungarian War), published in Lyons in 1568, the author indicates that, while sailing back to Italy, Vesalius landed

on the island of Zante, where he suddenly became ill and died.

In contradistinction to Andreas Vesalius, who added little to his already established reputation at the time of Henry II's death, Ambroise Paré continued to advance his medical reputation in the ensuing four decades of a long life.

Only sixteen months after performing the autopsy on Henry II, in December 1560, Paré was called upon to carry out the same procedure on Henry's son and successor, Francis II. Francis contended with ill-health throughout the less than sixteen years of his life. His death was due to sepsis related to a purulent ear infection. Paré had seen the king during the terminal illness and, unlike the other attending physicians, he opined that the king was in grave danger. A rumor circulated that the death of Francis was deliberately hastened by Paré, who put poison in Francis's ear, at the command of the Queen Mother, Catherine de' Medici.[7] No credence could be attached to the rumor, as evidenced by the fact that Paré subsequently was retained by Francis's successor, Charles IX, as surgeon-in-ordinary.

Fig. 41. Ambroise Paré, age 45.

If the "publish or perish" adage of academia is invoked, the conclusion would be that Paré thrived to the very end of his life. In April 1561, Paré's pocket-sized book, *Anatomie Universelle du Corps Humani* (Complete Anatomy of the Human Body), was published. The book, which was dedicated to the king of Navarre, bore the author's portrait at age forty-five and his motto, "Labor improbus omnia vincit" (Constant work conquers all), and contained 270 pages and 49 illustrations. The anatomical print, which was contained within, was based on the work of Vesalius, to whom Paré gave credit. The surgical

illustrations were derived from Paré's personal experience.

The date of publication of Paré's *La Méthode Curative des Playes. & Fractures de la Teste Humain* (The Method of Curing Wounds and Fractures of the Human Head), as it is related to *Anatomie Universalle,* is confusing. Although the title page of *La Méthode* bears the date 1561, the anatomical section of that text was derived from *Anatomie Universalle*. *La Méthode* was written at the urging of Jean Chapelain, to whom it was dedicated, and was doubtlessly influenced by the trauma sustained by Henry II at a time when Champelain was the king and queen's premier-physician.

On New Year's Day, 1562, which in the Julian calendar coincided with Easter at the time, Paré was formally appointed the king's premier-surgeon. In May of that year, Paré traveled with the army, which defeated Huguenot forces at Bourges. Toward the end of that year, before a battle between religious forces took place at Rouen, Paré cared for Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, who sustained a fatal gunshot wound by a sniper. Paré's clinical acumen was manifest on the occasion. Whereas the other surgeons, who cared for the victim, were optimistic for his recovery, Paré, from the onset, deemed the wound to be fatal.[8] Paré continued his active role as a military surgeon, tending to the injured at battles until March 1563 when the Peace of Amboise brought the first War of Religion to a close.

In February 1564, his *Dix Livres de Chirurgie* (Ten Books of Surgery), dedicated to Charles IX, was published. In that book, we find the first printed description of the use of ligatures rather than cautery during amputation, a practice that Paré initiated at Danvilliers twelve years earlier. In 1564, he embarked on a two-year tour of France with the king.

In November 1567, religious warfare broke out once again in France. During the first battle at Saint Denis, Paré was summoned by the king to care for the seventy-five-year-old Constable Montmorency, who had sustained a pistol-ball wound that injured his spinal cord. The constable died a few days after he was wounded. (The chain-mail armor of the old warrior who served five kings is on display at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

In 1568, Paré's *Traicté De La Peste, De La Petite Verolle & Rougeolle: Avec Une brefue Description de la Lepre* (Treatise on the Plague, Smallpox, and Measles with a Brief Description of Leprosy) was published. That book was written specifically at the request of Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici during the court's tour through plague-stricken Lyon.

Paré's prolific publication record emphasizes his dedication to pass on the knowledge that he had acquired through a vast experience. The 1572 publication *Cinc Livres de Chirurgie* (Five Books

of Surgery), which was directed toward a readership of young surgeons, focused on techniques of bandaging, treatment of fractures and dislocations, bites and stings, and gout. *Deux Livres de Chirurgie* (Two Books of Surgery), which erroneously bears the date of 1573, also appeared in 1572.[9] The book included a dissertation on reproduction and a consideration of obstetrical issues, in addition to discussion of wounds of nerves, and also dentistry.

The summer of 1572 is notable for the occurrence of the most devastating religious massacre of the century. Paré was significantly involved in two disparate episodes; first as a surgeon attending a distinguished patient, and, shortly thereafter, as an individual whose own life was in jeopardy.

Fig. 42. Admiral Gaspard de Coligny.

On August 22, 1572, Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, who was admired by King Charles IX despite his leadership of the Huguenots, was shot by a sniper while walking in the street. Paré was dispatched by the king to care for Coligny. Paré amputated two fingers and also debrided and dressed an arm wound the admiral sustained. Two days later, in the early morning, with the king's approval, the admiral was murdered in his home by a band of Catholics led by Henry of Guise, the oldest son of Duke Francis of Guise, who had been killed by Huguenots in 1563.

On August 24, when thousands of Protestants were killed on the streets of Paris and throughout France, Paré was in jeopardy because his own religious beliefs were in question. Although overtly he was a practicing Catholic throughout his life, as evidenced by his two marriages in Catholic churches, by the baptism of all his children in the faith, and by his inclusion in the court of Catholic kings, several notable contemporary figures regarded Paré to be a secret Huguenot. According to the memoirs of Maximilian de Bétheune, Duc de Sully:

> Of all those near the prince (Charles IX) there was no one so much in his confidence as Ambroise Paré. This man, who was only his surgeon, had taken with him so great familiarity, although he was Huguenot, that this prince having said to him on the day of the massacre, that this was the hour when it was necessary for everybody to make themselves Catholic, Paré responded, without being moved, "By the light of God, Sire, I believe that you will remember having promised never to demand of me four things, to wit, to enter again into the womb of my mother, to take care of myself on the day of battle, to quit your service, and to go to mass. . . ."[10]

Pierre de Brantôme, a French historian and contemporary of Paré, wrote about Charles IX's activity during the massacre:

> He kept crying out, "Kill, kill" and never had a wish to save one of them, except Master Ambroise Parè; and he sent for him to come that night into his chamber, commanding him not to stir out of it; and said it was not reasonable that one who was worth a whole world of men should be thus murdered, and he would not urge him, no more than he would urge his old nurse, to change his religion.[11]

In 1574, Charles IX, at the age of twenty-three, died of tuberculosis and, once again, Paré was called upon to perform a royal

autopsy and embalmment. Charles was succeeded by his brother, who had been baptized Alexandre Éduoard and was one year younger than him. When the new king assumed the title of Henry III, Paré was reappointed premier-surgeon of Paris, as well as councilor, and valet-de-chambre was added to his titles.

The decade between 1575, which began with the publication of the first edition of Ambroise Paré's collected works, *Les Oeuvres*, and 1585, which marked the appearance of the most definitive edition of *Les Oeuvres,* and included *The Apologie and Treatise, Containing the Voyages made into Divers Places*, was dominated by warfare between Paré and the medical faculty of the University of Paris. In modern parlance it would be referred to as "town versus gown." Unlike the usual result, in this case, Paré, a representative of the nonacademic medical practitioners, would emerge victorious.

The first edition of *Les Oeuvres* had a publication date of April 22, 1575. It is an elegant presentation of folio size, consisting of 945 pages of text written in French and 295 illustrations, divided into twenty-six books. It was offered with a dedication "To the Very-Christian King of France and Poland, Henri III." In an introductory paragraph that included a reason why he wrote "this masterpiece," Paré states:

> For more than forty years I have worked for the clarification and perfection of the Art of Surgery, striving for two things, especially, that the ignorant do not debase it by relegating it to a mechanical art, and in this work I have aimed that the Ancients from whom we came should surpass us only in the development of principles, and (said without envy or offense) that posterity should surpass us only by the additions of their own inventions.[12]

In that publication and subsequent books that he wrote, several beliefs of Ambroise Paré became evident. He believed that the stars influenced the course of disease, but there is no suggestion that he practiced astrology. He thought that the plague came about by Divine will rather than a natural cause. He adhered to the contemporary concept of spontaneous generation, and referred to the power of the air to cause putrefaction of wounds and the breeding of maggots in those wounds. He believed in the devil, witchcraft, and sorcery, and also in the power of the saints to cure disease.[13]

Fig. 43. Title page of *Les Oeuvres*, 1585.

Two months after publication of the first edition of *Les Oeuvres*, the Faculté de Médecine of the University of Paris, led by the Dean Étienne Gourmelin, petitioned the Parlement for their right to determine if the book should be published. The Faculté invoked a decree, which was passed in 1535, declaring that books of medicine and surgery could not be published without university approval. The petition stressed that Paré was a barber-surgeon, who was not educated, had been inappropriately admitted to the College of Surgery of St. Côme, and that the book was written in French rather than

Latin, as mandated.

Paré presented a methodically forceful defense, which emphasized that the use of the vernacular was appropriate because the work was directed at the instruction of a large diverse group of young surgeons. In 1887, Stephen Le Paulmier, a descendant of one of Paré's antagonists, published, for the first time, a pamphlet written by Paré in defense of the Faculté attack.[14] It includes the explanation:

> For more than thirty years I have had printed many treatises of Surgery; to which not only no man opposed himself, but on the contrary each one was with favor and applause—which made me think that if I gathered them in a body, it would have a thing very agreeable to the public. Which I having accomplished, and with the expense unbelievable, when I thought to make them see the day, behold, the physicians and surgeons have set themselves to obscure and quench them, for this sole reason, that I wrote them in our mother-tongue, in phrases quite easy to be understood. The physicians feared lest all who should get the book into their hands would be well advised how to take care of themselves in time of sickness, and would not be at the pains to call them in. The surgeons were afraid lest the barbers, reading these my works, would receive full instruction in all the operations of surgery, and would come to be as good [as] themselves, and so trespass on their domains. For the rest, both parties in general were moved by wilfull hate, envy, and jealousy, to see Ambroise Paré in some reputation well esteemed in his profession; and to give color to their act they dismembered at the onset some half-sentences of my works, taken from ancient authors put into French by themselves; thinking by such means to abuse your good will so as to render my cause more odious. Therefore to answer them I have willed to put this word in writing in advance to serve for my salvation; to let them understand that I have wherewith to pay them. I ask you Gentlemen, touching this charge of indecency, to remember it is one thing to treat of the right conduct of life, according to moral philosophy, for the instruction of tender youth, and another thing wholly different to speak of natural things, like a true physician or surgeon, for the instruction of full-grown men.

The Parlement affirmed the decree of 1535 that the publication of medical and surgical books required university approval, but it took no action regarding the Paré's publication because it was a fait

accomplï. The disputed sections were retained in the next edition four years later. The 1575 edition includes an interesting treatise on poisons, mad-dog bites, bites and stings of venomous animals, and a portrait of Paré at the time of publication.

The second edition of Paré's collected works was published in 1579. In that work, he did not include a separate section on fevers but instead included material throughout the book on tumors, and added sections about animals, distillations, and embalmment. In 1582, Jacques Guillemeau published a Latin edition of the collected works, which was printed in Germany. This is referred to as the third edition.

In 1580, Christophe Jouvenal des Ursins, an important councilor of the king's Privy Council, was treated successfully by Paré for injuries sustained during a fall from a horse. After recovery, the patient asked why the medication known as mummy was not used. Paré explained his aversion to that medication, and Ursins urged that the public should be made aware of the surgeon's reasons. Consequently, in 1582, *Discovrs D'Ambroise Paré, Conseiller, Et Premier Chirvrgien de Roy. A sçauoir, De la Mvmie, De La Licorna, DesVenins, Et De La Peste. Auec vne table des plus notables matieres continues esdits Discours* (Discourse of Ambroise Paré, Councillor and Premier Surgeon to the King on Mummy, Unicorn, Poisons, and the Plague) was published.

The work, which includes a portrait of Paré, aged seventy-two (see figure 41), ridiculed the nostrums of mummy and unicorn horn. Paré pointed out that the material dispensed often did not come from ancient mummies, and there was little evidence of any therapeutic effect of the preparation. He also stressed that the unicorn was a mythical beast and that the medicinal preparation might have come from the horn of a narwhal or rhinoceros, the tusk of an elephant, or some other type of ordinary bone. Much of this text was included in the fourth edition of *Les Oeuvres.* The book was attacked by the dean of the Faculté de Médecine, and in response, in 1584, the publication by Paré of a seven-page pamphlet appeared.

In 1585, the fourth and greatest edition of *Les Oeuvres* was published. It is notable for the inclusion of *The Apologie and Treatise*. That detailed description of the author's experiences in the military was a response to an attack on his application of ligature to control bleeding during an amputation. The first paragraph of the book states:

> Truly I had not put my hand to penne, to write on such a thing, were it that some have impudently injured, taxed, and more through particular hatred, disgraced me, than foor the zeale or the love they beare for the publicke good, which was conserning my manner of tying the Veines and Arteries.[15]

These words were a specific response to the public denouncement of the technique of ligature by Étienne Gourmelen, dean of the Faculté de Médecine, in a book on surgery, *Chirurgicæ artis, ex Hippocratis & aliorum veterum medicorum decretis* (The Art of Surgery, from Hippocrates and Other Ancient Physicians Book III), which Paré countered by stating that actually there was nothing new regarding the technique to stop bleeding from a vessel in a wound by means of ligature, but that he was the first surgeon to use a ligature to stop bleeding from a vessel during amputation. He indicated that he had good results. Paré censured his academic critic with the challenge, "Now dare you say you will teech mee to performe the works of Chirurgery, since you never went further than your study?"[16]

Paré continued to remain active in the eightieth year of his life. In 1590, during the siege of Paris by Henry of Navarre, Paré cared for the citizens dying from hunger. In the course of these events, Paré personally presented a plea for compassion to the visiting archbishop of Lyon. Five months later, Ambroise Paré died in his home on December 20, and was buried two days later on the grounds of St. André des Arts Church.

Chapter 7
AFTERMATH: SPAIN AND SAVOY

Throughout Europe, the four remaining decades of the sixteenth century that followed the fatal joust and death of Henry II were dominated by religious conflicts related to the Reformation. The politically motivated marriage between a member of the House of Valois and the king of Spain did little to improve the relations between the two dominant European realms. For the majority of the time in question both of the dominant European powers had as their major concern internal discord.

The royal weddings, which were unrivaled as a social event during the sixteenth century, had been decorated with the flags of Spain, France, and Savoy, accompanied by the crests of the Habsburgs, the House of Valois, and the House of Savoy. The emblems brought into focus three realms, which would experience significant transformation in the aftermath of the weddings. Spain would experience the most profound change. Its king, Philip II, who was the world's most powerful monarch at the time of the weddings, and his surrogate, the Duke of Alva, both would continue in leadership roles for almost all of the remainder of the century, but the country's stature would fall precipitously, never to be regained.

Philip II, who had remained in Ghent during the wedding celebrations, left Flanders and arrived in Spain at the end of August accompanied by his son, Don Carlos, and Philip's sister, Doña Juana. Elizabeth, Philip's fourteen-year-old bride, who had lost her royal father, remained in seclusion with her mother, Catherine de' Medici, in the Louvre throughout the month of July after all of the visiting nobility had left Paris. The two women continued to console each other after they had taken up residence at Saint Germain-en-Laye while awaiting the coronation of the sickly fifteen-year-old Francis II. The coronation took place on September 21 at Rheims.

Elizabeth began her journey to Spain on November 17, escorted by a large entourage led by the king of Navarre, the cardinal of Bourbon, and Prince Roche-sur-Yon. The trip was arduous, and Elizabeth did not enter Spain until January 3, 1560, at which time she was met by Cardinal Mendoza and the Duke of Infantado.[1]

After a stop at Pamplona, Elizabeth made a grand entrance on horseback on February 4 into Guadalajara, where she was met by her husband for the first time. As was the Spanish custom for royalty, an

immediate marriage ceremony was performed by Cardinal Mendoza, and the new queen became referred to as Isabel de la Paz y Bondad (Isabel of the Peace and Virtue), because the marriage, ostensibly, brought peace between the two major royal houses of Europe.

At the time, the youthful queen was described as a gracious beauty with a well-formed body, large lively brown eyes, and black hair.[2] During the early years of her role as consort to Philip II, the king continued to maintain extramarital sexual relations and impregnated one of his mistresses. In time, he became so attached to Elizabeth that he ceased all other love affairs.[3] Historians generally agree that Elizabeth was the wife to whom Philip was most emotionally attached.[4]

In 1564, while Elizabeth was in the fifth month of her first pregnancy, she became critically ill with a high fever. The pregnancy spontaneously aborted twin female fetuses, and the queen's illness continued causing great concern for her life. She was treated with bleeding and the application of blisters from which noxious elements were thought to be removed, in keeping with the contemporary medical practice. Throughout her illness Elizabeth was attended by Doña Juana and the Princess of Eboli. The Duke of Alba remained in the ante-chamber, and Philip II, when he was not at his wife's side, sequestered himself in his apartment and refused all audiences. Elizabeth's eventual recovery was celebrated throughout Madrid with a procession led by the king and his son, Don Carlos.

The marriage of Philip and Elizabeth created a basis for the two major powers, Spain and France, previously avowed opponents but, at the time, mutually concerned with Protestant heresy, to attempt to develop a conjoined approach to the problem. Catherine de' Medici proposed to confer with Philip to establish an approach that would lead to the suppression of the heretics throughout Europe.

Because Philip was concerned about arousing his Protestant Flemish subjects in the Netherlands, rather than personally participating, he dispatched Elizabeth, accompanied by the Duke of Alba, as his emissary. At issue for Philip was an attempt to secure from France an endorsement of a commitment against heresy, in the case of France, against the Huguenots. The mission would also provide Elizabeth with the opportunity to meet her mother and her sixteen-year-old brother, Charles IX, who had succeeded Francis II as the king of France.

Elizabeth began her journey from Madrid on April 9, 1565. Catherine de' Medici, after preparing Bayonne for the conference, traveled to St. Jean de Luz, where she crossed the Bidassoa River and met her daughter Elizabeth on Spanish soil on June 14. Mother and daughter then proceeded to St. Jean and, over several days, to

Bayonne.

The conference at Bayonne lasted until July 1. During the meeting, Charles IX was invested with the Spanish order of the Golden Fleece. The conference, however, could claim no accomplishment. The Duke of Alba did not succeed in binding the French monarch and the regent Catherine to a plan for the suppression of heresy. Also, the attempt on the part of Catherine to create a matrimonial alliance between Don Carlos and her daughter Margaret fell on deaf ears. Throughout the conference, Elizabeth faithfully upheld the interests of Spain. Catherine remarked, "How Spanish you have become, my daughter."[5]

On August 12, 1566, Elizabeth delivered the Infanta Isabel, who would remain Philip's favorite child. According to Elizabeth's biographer, "next to Elizabeth, who was loved by Philip with a devotion he never afterwards bestowed on another, the Infanta eventually possessed more of her father's confidence than any other personage."[6] On October 10, 1567, Elizabeth gave birth to Catalina Michelle.

Throughout her presence in Spain, Elizabeth remained closely bonded in friendship with Don Carlos. When his emotional problems worsened in 1567, leading to his arrest and confinement by Philip in January 1568, Elizabeth grieved, particularly because she was not allowed to visit the prisoner.

The death of Don Carlos on July 24, 1568, amplified Elizabeth's grief and stimulated her to request of her mother that a funeral service be conducted at Nôtre Dame. The service was conducted on September 20. That month Elizabeth became ill with a high fever. On October 3, she prematurely gave birth to a four or five-month-old daughter and continued on a rapid down-hill course to death. The embalmed body of Elizabeth was taken to the Carmelite convent Las Decalzas Reales to await transfer to El Escorial, the historic residence of the Spanish kings in San Lorenzo, about forty-five kilometers northwest of Madrid, which was under construction.

In 1586, when the magnificent church of St. Lorenzo with a sepulcher containing marble vaults was completed, Elizabeth's coffin was transferred to that site, which was called the Pantheon. A monumental bronze effigy of Elizabeth in a kneeling position can be viewed in front of the high altar in the company of effigies of Charles V, the Empress Isabel, Philip II and his three consorts, and Don Carlos. It is generally held that had Elizabeth's life "been prolonged, she doubtless would have exhibited those qualities and that aptitude for government, which distinguished her mother. . . ."[7]

Elizabeth's counterparts at her wedding, both Philip and his surrogate the Duke of Alba, would continue to play influential roles

after the ceremony throughout most of the remainder of the century. It is ironic that Philip, the European monarch most dedicated to maintaining the Catholic faith and aborting the influence of Protestant heretics, would oversee an empire that was the most transformed during the final four decades of the sixteenth century. Although Spain, the country in which his throne resided, was essentially untouched by the Reformation, the Low Countries, which were integral to his domain, would undergo a total transformation during the same period. During that time, the Duke of Alba, once again, served as Philip's proxy, this time assuming a political rather than a matrimonial role. Therefore, in describing the course of the Spanish empire in the aftermath of the death of Henry II, a detailed consideration of the activities of the two dominant participants is integral.

After Henry II died, the Duke of Alba remained in France in order to attend the funeral, which took place at Saint Denis on August 13, 1559. Four days later, the duke left for Spain. Philip, who was in Ghent at the time of the fatal joust, left the Netherlands on August 11, never to return. He arrived at Laredo on September 8 and reached Valladolid on the 14th. Margaret of Parma, the thirty-seven-year-old illegitimate daughter of Charles V, widow of a Medici prince, and then wife of the Duke of Parma, was left in charge of the Netherlands' government.

Although the Reformation initially had affected Spain to the least extent of any European country, by the time of Philip's return, there was evidence of some acceptance of Lutheranism. An *auto de fe* (trial for heresy at which punishment was assigned) had taken place several months before his arrival. As one of his first acts on Spanish soil, Philip presided over an *auto de fe* in the main square of Valladolid. Twelve of the defendants, including four nuns, were burned at the stake.

Once Philip had reestablished himself in Spain, the profile of his court changed. When the Duke of Alba returned from France it was apparent that he had been preempted at court by Ruy Goméz, the Prince of Eboli, but a strong bond between the duke and the king remained.

Because of a persistent fear that the Ottoman Empire would expand in the Mediterranean, just before leaving the Netherlands, Philip had ordered a combined Spanish and Italian force to capture Tripoli. Between May and July 1560, the battle took place. The Turks destroyed half the Spanish fleet and captured over 10,000 men off the North African coast, accounting for the greatest defeat sustained by Spain at the time.[8]

The remainder of the first decade after the death of Henry II was

characterized by Philip's role as the prime defender of Catholicism in Europe. When Francis II, Henry's successor, died in December 1560, Jean (John) Calvin, reflecting the Protestants' strong belief in God's Providence and considering Francis's fatal ear infection, wrote in a letter: "Did you ever read or hear anything more opportune than the death of the king? . . . He who pierced the eye of the father has now struck the ear of the son."[9]

By 1559, most of the towns in Holland had abandoned executions for heresy. By 1563, three major towns in Flanders had taken legal action to exclude provincial inquisition.[10] In 1564, Count Egmont went to Spain as a representative for the nobility of the Netherlands to request that the policy toward heresy be changed to one that was more lenient. Initially, he was encouraged by Philip's response, but, shortly thereafter, he was discouraged by the declaration that the policy of severity would continue. The nobility of the Netherlands responded by openly withdrawing their support from Margaret of Parma's regime.

Philip continued in his efforts to protect and sustain Catholicism in his domain. In 1566, he wrote to his court's leading representative to the papacy, "You can assure his Holiness that rather than suffer the least injury to religion and the service of God, I would lose all my states and a hundred lives, if I had them, for I do not intend to rule over heretics."[11]

During the 1560s, Philip's main focus was on the Netherlands, which constituted the economic lifeline for Spain. The Netherlands under Philip's father, Charles V, consisted of seventeen provinces, including the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, parts of France, and parts of Germany. Three-quarters of Spanish wool was shipped to the Netherlands. Four-fifths of the ships from northern Europe to Spain were from the Netherlands. Therefore, the Dutch revolt of 1566 was of grave concern.

In April of that year, the nobility of the Netherlands presented Margaret of Parma with the demand to relax the laws regarding heresy. In response to the solidarity and strength of the nobility, Margaret was forced to order suspension of the heresy laws. This act, in turn, resulted in a return of the Dutch Calvinists, who had been in exile, and a growth in their congregations of Protestant worship. In August 1566, the situation came to a head with the extensive destruction of Catholic Church property by Protestants, particularly in Antwerp. A month later, Protestants in the Netherlands were granted the right to worship in congregations that had already been established.

By the end of that year, Margaret's troops defeated Calvinist insurgents, and the revolt collapsed. Philip reacted by sending his

most esteemed military leader, the Duke of Alba, to erase or contain all residual opposition. The duke arrived in Brussels in August 1567 with about 10,000 troops and a reputation for merciless brutality. Almost immediately, he established a special court, called the "Council of Troubles," which was referred to by the citizenry as the "Council of Blood." Among the nobles, two of the earliest to be imprisoned were the popular war heroes, Lamoral, Count of Egmont, and Philippe de Montmorency, Count of Hornes. It is estimated that the "Council of Troubles" was responsible for over a thousand executions and nine thousand individuals, most of whom fled the country, had their property confiscated.[12]

At the end of 1567, Margaret of Parma resigned and was formally succeeded as the overseer of the Netherlands by the Duke of Alba. On June 5, 1568, the counts of Egmont and Hornes were executed in the public square for high treason. One month later, an opposing force of 12,000, led by Louis of Nassau, arrived at Jemmingen (Jemgum). They were met by an army under the direct command of the Duke of Alba. The result was a massacre with at least 7,000 of Louis of Nassau's men killed.[13] By the end of that year, the protests were judged to be essentially contained throughout the Netherlands.

During Christmas of 1568, an unrelated revolt occurred in the Moorish province of Granada in response to the crown's attempt to prohibit the use of Moorish language, dress, and the practice of their customs. In April 1569, Philip placed his half-brother Don Juan of Austria in charge of putting down the rebellion, which, after much bloodshed, was brought under control the following May. After what was perhaps the most brutal war fought on European soil during that century, about eighty thousand members of the Muslim population of Granada were expelled and scattered throughout Castile.[14]

Also, during the decade of the sixties, there was increasing concern on the part of Spain regarding the potential for incursions by France and England in the Western Hemisphere, which provided Spain with much of its wealth. In addition, rebellions by the native workforce in Mexico and Peru threatened the output.

In 1562, French naval officer Jean Ribault and 150 men were dispatched by Admiral Gaspard de Coligny and landed near the mouth of the present St. Johns River in the vicinity of St. Augustine, Florida. They proceeded north, built a fort on the shores of Port Royal Bay, and established a colony at Port Royal in present day South Carolina. Thirty men were left to build the colony, but their stay was short-lived and they returned to France. In 1564, Coligny sent Huguenot nobleman and merchant mariner René de Laudonnière to colonize the same area as a buffer against increasing Spanish influence. They named the colony Fort Caroline in honor of Charles IX. One year later,

after a battle, the land was claimed for Spain by Menéndez de Avilés. The base that was established was renamed St. Augustine in honor of the saint's feast day on which the Spaniards arrived.

During the decade of the seventies, Spain's two main leaders, Philip II and the Duke of Alba, witnessed and participated in kaleidoscopic changes. Significant changes occurred in their personal lives, and major demographic alterations took place within the empire. In the early part of the decade, Spain and Philip were at the apogee of their power and influence. But at the same time, there was a continuous and accelerating growth in the discontent of Netherlanders with the Spanish control to which they were exposed. There were pendulum swings in the relationships between Spain and both France and England. Also, change took place in the attitude toward Spanish rule in colonial America and the reaction of the native population.

In the beginning of 1570, Philip regarded the continuous attacks by English corsairs on Spanish shipping as tantamount to acts of war. But, both Philip and the Duke of Alba firmly disagreed with the papal bull, which excommunicated the English queen. The Spanish leaders thought that such an act would provoke an invitation for rebellion on the part of English Catholics and might drive England toward an alliance with France and toward pro-viding aid to the rebellious Netherlanders. In order to counter these possibilities Philip used diplomatic channels to reaffirm Spain's existing alliance with England.[15]

On November 14, 1570, Philip took as his fourth wife Anna of Austria, who was twenty-two years his junior. Over the ensuing ten years of their marriage, she would give birth to five offspring, only one of whom would live to adulthood. He would succeed to the throne as Philip III.

Philip enjoyed the zenith of his reign in 1571. In response to repeated sporadic attacks by the Turkish fleet throughout the Mediterranean, including the capture of Cyprus, a Holy League to counter the Ottomans was established by Spain, Venice, and the papacy. The group contributed over two hundred ships, which assembled in the summer of 1571 under the command of Don Juan of Austria. On October 7, in the Gulf of Lepanto off the coast of Greece, the Christians won a decisive victory in a massive battle that involved over 400 ships and almost 100,000 men. The author of Don Quixote, Miguel de Cervantes, who took part in the battle, wrote that it "was the greatest occasion that past or present ages have seen, or that future ones can hope to see."[16]

Spain's global influence was expanded at the same time by Basque navigator and governor Miguel López de Legazpi's settlement of the Philippine Islands, which had been claimed by Ferdinand

Magellan during his voyage of circumnavigation over fifty years previously. In the New World territories, which had a vital role in financing Philip's European activities, his colonial rule was solidified.

But these positive changes were offset within a year by a worsening of the situation in the Netherlands. In the spring of 1572, a group of Calvinist exiles, known as the Sea Beggars, based in England, began to energize revolts in northern Netherlands towns inhabited by citizens who strongly objected to newly imposed taxes, called the Tenth Penny tax, on their goods. By the summer the majority of the towns of Holland and Zeeland, with the exception of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, had pledged their support to William of Orange, who opposed Spanish domination.

The Duke of Alba, leader of Spanish rule in the Netherlands, responded to the Dutch revolt with his characteristic merciless military behavior. Commanded by the duke's son, Fadrique, the Spanish troops, whose numbers had been raised to the level of 67,000 soldiers,[17] laid waste to the towns of Mechelen, Zutphen, and Naarden, and in December they captured Haarlem.

The reaction to the Duke of Alba's stern and unyielding policy spread throughout the Low Countries. Even his previous supporters, such as the Spanish humanist Benedito Arias Montano and Francés de Álava, Alba's friend and previous ambassador at the French court, indicated to Philip the need for a change. The failed policy based on force and subjugation had to be replaced by toleration and compromise. In November 1573, Philip replaced the Duke of Alba with Spanish diplomat Luis de Requesens as commander of the Netherlands.

That same year Philip addressed injustices in his American colonial empire. He issued an Ordinance of Discoveries that banned further conquests of the New World, and stressed that the primary Spanish objectives were to spread religion and offer protection to the Native Americans. Also in 1573, the famed palace and monastery at El Escorial, which had its cornerstone laid ten years earlier, was sufficiently complete to have the bodies of Elizabeth, Philip's wife, and his son Don Carlos interred under the altar. In 1574, the remains of Charles V; Philip's mother, Isabel; and Philip's other deceased relatives joined the initial two.

In 1574, the Council of Troubles and the Tenth Penny tax were abolished in the Netherlands. In 1576, Don Juan of Austria replaced Requesens, who died in 1576, as commander in the Netherlands. Don Juan was sent with instruction by Philip to concede all points related to religious practices and taxation to the Netherlanders. This action failed to assuage the Netherlanders. In November tensions escalated when Spanish troops sacked and looted Ghent and massacred over six

thousand citizens. No longer able to restrain the opposition, in the spring of 1577, the Spanish troops left the Netherlands.

The year 1578 marked both the death of Don Juan of Austria at age thirty-one and the birth of Philip's son, Philip, who would succeed him to the throne. The following year was to prove significant in the lives of both the Duke of Alba and Philip II. That year found the duke's son, Fadrique de Toledo, marrying his own cousin against the expressed orders of the king, who had pledged him to marry a lady-in-waiting of the queen. Fadrique was placed under arrest and imprisoned in a castle at Tordesillas while the Duke of Alba was exiled to a castle in Uceda, thirty miles from Madrid.

In 1579, the northern provinces of the Netherlands, in the Treaty of Utrecht, formally pledged to support one another against Spain. That same year, Philip's twenty-five-year-old nephew, Sebastian, the king of Portugal, led a force of eight hundred vessels and 25,000 men against the Muslims in Morocco. At the battle of al-Qasr al-Kabir, over 10,000 of his troops were captured and Sebastian was killed.[18] This opened the door for Philip, whose mother was Portuguese and whose sister had given birth to Sebastian, to claim the throne of Portugal.

Immediately after Sebastian died, his nearest male heir, a sixty-seven-year-old great uncle, Cardinal Henry, was proclaimed king. When Cardinal Henry died on January 30, 1580, Philip became the choice of the Portuguese court to succeed him as monarch. Don Antonio of Crato, a grandson of King Manuel I of Portugal, however, had gained the support of many Portuguese, who hoped for international support on his behalf. It was therefore necessary for Philip to present a show of strength. Philip's councilors unanimously informed the king that the Duke of Alba should be brought out of exile and given command of troops to bring Portugal under control. Alba led a Spanish force of 47,000 men across the border into Portugal.[19] The dissidents surrendered without a fight and Don Antonio fled. On September 12, 1580, Philip was proclaimed king of Portugal, and, for the first time, the entire Iberian peninsula was under one crown. One month later, Philip's joy was erased by the death of his beloved wife, Anna.

The Duke of Alba remained to take charge of the pacification of Portugal. Although Philip had personally established a court in Lisbon, where he would reside until February 1583, he insisted that the seriously ailing Alba maintain his presence in Portugal. The duke's health continued to deteriorate until he died in Lisbon on December 12, 1582. He would be remembered as the best-known military figure of the sixteenth century, an unrelenting defender of Catholicism, a strict and ruthless authoritarian, and a consummate servant of his king.

At the beginning of the eighth decade of the sixteenth century, Philip II continued to enjoy the height of his power: he ruled the entire Iberian peninsula, established a truce with the Turks, firmly controlled the Philippine islands, and significantly expanded his American empire. In 1581, by the Act of Abjuration, independence for the Netherlands was declared and Philip relinquished his control of that country. In February 1582, Francis, Duke of Anjou and brother of the king of France, triumphantly entered Antwerp as the new ruler of the Netherlands. In spite of the support of French troops, Anjou was unable to sustain his power and eventually left the country. Philip's long-time nemesis in the Netherlands, William of Orange, was assassinated in July 1584 in accordance with a plan endorsed by Allesandro Farnese, Duke of Parma. The assassin's family was rewarded by Philip.[20]

The pending conflict between England and Spain became inevitable when the secret Treaty of Nonsuch, in which England committed to intervene militarily in the Netherlands, was signed in August 1585. Philip learned of the treaty at the end of that year and concluded that the die for confrontation had been cast. The king also learned that Sir Francis Drake, who had gained notoriety and his title by circumnavigating the globe between 1577 and 1580, left England in September 1585, in command of a large expedition destined to capture the Spanish fleet carrying silver from Petosi and the West Indies.[21]

In 1586, Philip initiated a program to substantially increase the naval strength of Spain. Meanwhile, Drake had captured Santo Domingo, the launching pad for exploration and conquest for the Spanish empire in the Western Hemisphere, and he proceeded to defeat the Spaniards at St. Augustine on the coast of Florida. In 1587, a plot to kill Queen Elizabeth, in which Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador to France was involved, was thwarted, and Mary Queen of Scots, who was implicated in the plot, was beheaded. The Spanish involvement in the assassination plot erased any potential for a more favorable relationship with England. On April 27, Sir Francis Drake led a fleet into Cadiz harbor and destroyed or captured over twenty Spanish ships.

In January 1588, Philip deemed the Spanish Armada ready for a naval battle with England, but, one month later, its leader and most successful admiral, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, died. As his replacement, Philip appointed Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, who had no naval command experience. Nevertheless, the timing appeared to be favorable for Spain. The English troops, which had been stationed in the Netherlands to support its government, had been withdrawn and the Catholic League of the Guises had taken over control, thereby

limiting the potential for the Dutch and French while assisting England. Therefore, Philip discounted Guzman's lack of experience and ordered an attack on the English fleet.[22]

The Spanish Armada, which consisted of 130 ships with over 18,000 men, took up a position south of the Cornwall coast during the last week of June. When the sea battle began in August, the Spanish fleet was at an acknowledged disadvantage. But, after several ships were lost and significant casualties were sustained by the English, the Spanish fleet sailed into the North Sea and past the Irish coast where most of their vessels were destroyed by a severe Atlantic storm. Approximately sixty ships were destroyed and 15,000 men killed. Spain suffered a devastating loss.

The decrease of Spain's power continued through the remainder of the century. In 1591, as the Protestant Henry of Navarre sought to gain the throne of France, Spain was brought into the conflict that lasted for more than six years. Initially, the Archduke of Parma raised the siege of Rouen, which had been imposed by Henry of Navarre and aided by English auxiliaries. When Henry of Navarre was crowned king in 1594 his position was strengthened by converting to Catholicism and receiving a papal pardon. So emboldened, he declared war on Spain. The final Spanish military effort was an attack by the governor of Milan against French Burgundy. Henry IV defeated the forces at Fontaine-Française in 1595. Spanish troops were also expelled from Brittany and Marseilles.[23]

The last five years of Philip's life, beginning in 1593, were characterized by increased ill-health that compromised his royal activities. Because his son was only fifteen at the time, Philip relied on the thirty-four-year-old Archduke Albert, the brother of his wife, Anna. In 1594, Philip signed his royal testament, which indicated that upon his death the royal rights were to be transferred to his son.[24]

When the Infante Philip was eighteen, he assumed his royal responsibilities. At the same time, Archduke Albert was sent to Brussels as governor of the Habsburg Netherlands. In June 1596, an English fleet, which included over forty warships and one hundred small vessels carrying 15,000 troops commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, destroyed over two hundred Spanish ships in the harbor of Cadiz. English and Dutch troops gained control and put the torch to the city, thereby significantly impeding Spanish trade with America.[25]

In 1597, a large Spanish fleet left on a mission to seize the English port of Falmouth, but the attempt was aborted by a storm at sea. A grave personal blow to Philip occurred in December when Catalina, his favorite daughter and the wife of Carl Emmanuel of Savoy, died after giving birth. On May 2, 1598, Spain signed a treaty at Vervins, thereby ending its war with France. Spain gave up all its gains,

including its claim to Calais. Four days later, the Netherlands was handed over to Archduke Albert and his bride-to-be, the Infanta Isabel.

Philip II died on September 13, 1598. He was laid to rest beside his wife, Anna, in the vault of kings at the edifice that he had built at El Escorial. He had ruled for over a half a century during which Spain reached its zenith and then retreated to a state of lesser consequence in European geopolitics. Although Philip was the most powerful monarch of his time, he never displayed initiative, but rather reacted to internal and external influences.

SAVOY

A little after midnight on Sunday July 9, 1559, in the Chapel of Saint Paul, a church that was located close to the current corner of Rue St. Paul and Rue St. Antoine (but no longer exists), Margaret of Valois and Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy were married.[26] Catherine de' Medici, who was mourning the imminent demise of her husband, was emotionally unable to attend. Nine days later, the duke left for Brussels, where he participated in a ceremony in which the governorship of the Netherlands and Low Countries was surrendered to Philip II's designate, Margaret of Parma.

Meanwhile, Margaret of Valois remained at Catherine's side during the period of mourning, which ended on August 22. Emmanuel joined his wife in France in early September, and the couple participated in the coronation of Charles IX of France at Rheims on September 18.

The duke returned to his dominion shortly thereafter, but Margaret remained in France with Catherine and his recently married niece, Elizabeth, for several months before proceeding on a transalpine route to her new home. On her journey from Lyon to Marseilles, where she was joined by her husband, Margaret stopped at Salon to meet with Nostradamus, despite her skepticism regarding astrology.[27]

Emmanuel and Margaret enjoyed their first royal reception in the Savoyard capital of Nice at the end of January 1560. The resplendent event took place at the palace of Rivoli near Vercelli. On January 12, 1562, Margaret gave birth to a son, Carl Emmanuel, whose first name honored her brother Charles IX. Once again, Nostradamus became intertwined in this history. During the pregnancy the astrologist was brought to visit Margaret to predict the gender of the offspring. The seer asserted that the child would be a boy, who should be named Charles, and who would "Grow to be one of the greatest captains of the age."[28]

At the time that Emmanuel Philibert regained his duchy, the condition of the Piedmont region that it occupied was characterized by physical devastation, financial deficiency, and political disarray. Reform was initiated by abolishing the States General and the creation of an absolute monarchy. Margaret was an active participant from the onset. Throughout her time as Duchess of Savoy, Margaret was highly respected by her husband, and was integral to the management of the dominions. She served as regent and presided over the council in the absence of Emmanuel. She was endeared by the populace. Margaret was spoken of as "the mother of her people,"[29] a major accomplishment since her native country had been a long-term foe of her subjects.

The duke was a devout Catholic and was initially inclined to rid his domain of all heretics. In 1561, however, he declared that the Waldenses, a group of Protestants in the Pellice and Chisone valleys, had the right to worship at Cavour. Margaret is credited with convincing the duke to modify his stance regarding religious worship.[30] She frequently offered sympathy for the Protestants and evidenced religious toleration.

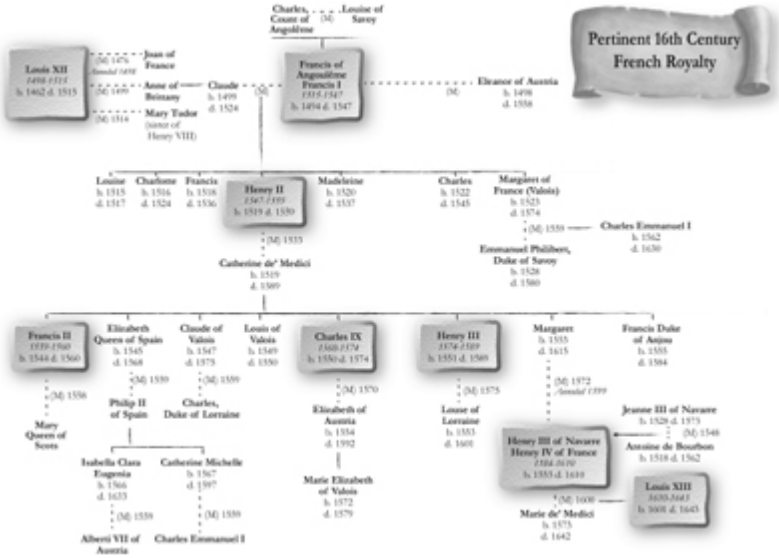
The sustained friendship between Margaret and Catherine de' Medici facilitated the expansion of Savoy by the acquisition of land from France. In November 1562, Turin, later to become the first capital of the kingdom of Italy after unification in 1861, was transferred, along with the towns of Chieri, Villanuova d'Asti, and Chivasso, from France to Savoy.

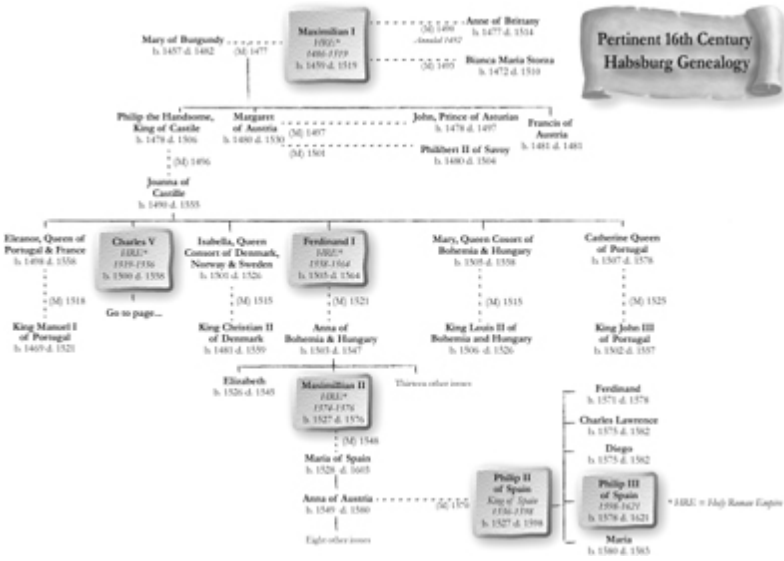
Emmanuel Philibert became a member of the French court in 1564.The final transfer of land from France to Savoy took place during a visit of Margaret's brother, Henry d'Anjou, in 1574. When Charles IX died without a male heir on May 30, 1574, Henry, at age twenty-two was to become the next king of France and the last monarch from the House of Valois. At the time, he was serving as the elected monarch of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. Upon learning of his brother's death, Henry immediately left Poland for France. During that journey, he was accompanied by Emmanuel Philibert to Turin, where he visited his aunt Margaret. On that occasion, Henry, without the counsel of his court or that of Catherine de' Medici, surrendered the French possessions of Asti, Santhia, Savigliano, Puruza, and Pinerolo to Savoy.[31]

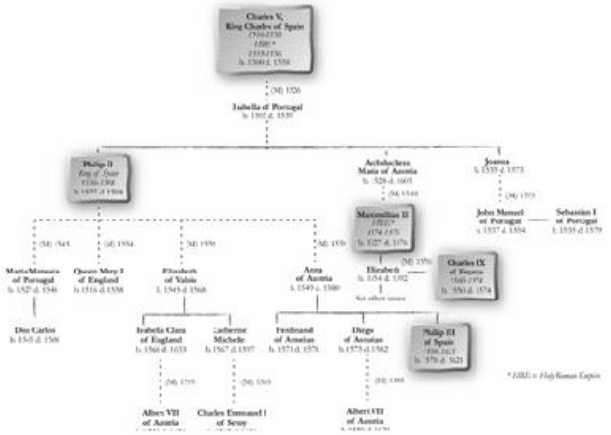
Margaret maintained an interest in education. Before her marriage, in her capacity as Duchess of Berry, she was active in the expansion of the university in Bourges. After she assumed her royal status in Savoy, she was a factor in re-opening the university at Turin. Margaret also encouraged poetry, painting, and music in her adopted country.

In 1574, the Duke of Savoy accompanied his guest Henry d'Anjou back to France to be crowned Henry III. Margaret was expected to follow, but she took ill and died on September 14. At the time of her death she was in debt because her dowry had never been paid in full by the French monarchy. She was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. John at Turin. After the destruction of that church during the French Revolution, nothing remains of her memorial.

Throughout his reign, Emmanuel Philibert carried out extensive reforms in the military, agriculture, and industry. The reforms imposed a significant tax on the exchequer. The duchy, which had a population that was more than half French when Emmanuel took over, gradually became more Italian, and Italian became the national language. In 1580, with the death of Henry I of Portugal, Emmanuel's uncle, the duke initiated a claim to that throne but was soon outmaneuvered by Philip II. Emmanuel Philibert died on August 30, 1580, and was succeeded by Charles Emmanuel I, the only surviving offspring from the marriage between Margaret of Valois and Emmanuel Philibert. Charles Emmanuel I married Infanta Catherine Michelle of Spain, the daughter of Philip II, and ruled Savoy until his death in 1630.


Pertinent 16th Century French Royalty
Charles, Count of Angoûlême
(M)
Louise of Savoy
Louis XII
1498-1515
b. 1462 d. 1515
(M) 1476
Jeanne of France
annulled 1498
(M) 1499
Anne of Brittany
(M) 1514
Mary Tudor
(sister of Henry VIII)
Claude
b. 1499
d. 1524
(M)
Francis of Angoûlême
Francis I
1515-1547
b. 1494 d. 1547
(M)
Eleanor of Austria
b. 1498
d. 1558
Louise
b. 1515
d. 1517
Charlotte
b. 1516
d. 1524
Francis
b. 1518
d. 1536
Henry II
1547-1559
b. 1519 d. 1559
Madeleine
b. 1520
d. 1537
Charles
b. 1522
d. 1545
Margaret of France (Valois)
b. 1523
d. 1574
(M) 1559
Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy
b. 1528
d. 1580
Charles Emmanuel I
b. 1562
d. 1630
(M) 1533
Catherine de' Medici
b. 1519
d. 1589
Francis II
1559-1560
b. 1544 d. 1560
(M) 1558
Mary Queen of Scots
Elizabeth Queen of Spain
b. 1545
d. 1568
(M) 1559
Philip II of Spain
Isabella Clara Eugenia
b. 1566
d. 1633
(M) 1599
Albert VII of Austria
Claude of Valois
b. 1547
d. 1575
(M) 1559
Charles, Duke of Lorraine
Catherine Michelle
b. 1567
d. 1597
(M) 1599
Charles Emmanuel I
Louis of Valois
b. 1549
d. 1550
Charles IX
1560-1574
b. 1550 d. 1574
(M) 1570
Elizabeth of Austria
b. 1554
d. 1592
Marie Elizabeth of Valois
b. 1572
d. 1578
Henry III
1574-1589
b. 1551 d. 1589
(M) 1575
Louse of Lorraine
b. 1553
d. 1601
Margaret
b. 1553
d. 1615
(M) 1572
annulled 1599
Henry III of Navarre
Henry IV of France
1584-1610
b. 1553 d. 1610
(M) 1600
Marie de' Medici
b. 1575
d. 1642
Francis Duke of Anjou
b. 1555
d. 1584
Jeanne III of Navarre
b. 1528 d. 1573
(M) 1548
Antoine de Bourbon
b. 1518 d. 1562
Louis XIII
1610-1643
b. 1608 d. 1643


Pertinent 16th Century Habsburg Genealogy
Mary of Burgundy
b. 1457 d. 1482
(M) 1477
Maximilian I
HRE*
1486-1519
b. 1459 d. 1519
(M) 1490
Annulled 1492
Anne of Brittany
b. 1477 d. 1514
(M) 1494
Bianca Maria Sforza
b. 1472 d. 1510
Philip the Handsome, King of Castile
b. 1478 d. 1506
(M) 1496
Joanna of Castille
b. 1490 d. 1555
Margaret of Austria
b. 1480 d. 1530
(M) 1497
(M) 1501
John, Prince of Asturias
b. 1478 d. 1497
Philibert II of Savoy
b. 1480 d. 1504
Francis of Austria
b. 1481 d. 1481
Eleanor, Queen of Portugal & France
b. 1498 d. 1556
(M) 1518
King Manuel I of Portugal
b. 1469 d. 1521
Charles V
HRE*
1519-1556
b. 1500 d. 1558
Go to page...
Isabella, Queen Consort of Denmark, Norway & Sweden
b. 1501 d. 1526
(M) 1515
King Christian II of Denmark
b. 1481 d. 1559
Ferdinand I
HRE*
1558-1564
b. 1503 d. 1564
(M) 1521
Anna of Bohemia & Hungary
b. 1503 d. 1547
Mary, Queen Consort of Bohemia & Hungary
b. 1505 d. 1558
(M) 1515
King Louis II of Bohemia and Hungary
b. 1506 d. 1526
Catherine Queen of Portugal
b. 1507 d. 1578
(M) 1525
King John III of Portugal
b. 1502 d. 1557
Elizabeth
b. 1526 d. 1545
Thirteen other issues
Maximilian II
HRE*
1574-1576
b. 1527 d. 1576
(M) 1546
Maria of Spain
b. 1528 d. 1603
Anna of Austria
b. 1549 d. 1580
Eight other issues
(M) 1570
Philip II of Spain
King of Spain
1556-1598
b. 1527 d. 1598
Ferdinand
b. 1571 d. 1578
Charles Lawrence
b. 1575 d. 1582
Diego
b. 1575 d. 1582
Philip III of Spain
1598-1621
b. 1578 d. 1621
Maria
b. 1580 d. 1583
* HRE = Holy Roman Empire


Charles V,
King Charles of Spain
(Holy Roman Emperor
1519–1558
1516–1556)
b. 1500 d. 1558
(M) 1526
Isabella of Portugal
b. 1503 d. 1539
Philip II
King of Spain
(1556–1598
1580–1581)
b. 1527 d. 1598
Archduchess
Maria of Austria
b. 1528 d. 1603
(M) 1548
Joanna
b. 1535 d. 1573
(M) 1552
Maximilian II
(Holy Roman Emperor
1564–1576)
b. 1527 d. 1576
John Manuel
of Portugal
c. 1537 d. 1554
Sebastian I
of Portugal
b. 1535 d. 1578
(M) 1543
(M) 1554
(M) 1570
(M) 1548
(M) 1570
Charles IX
of France
(1560–1574)
b. 1550 d. 1574
Maria Manuela
of Portugal
b. 1527 d. 1545
Queen Mary I
of England
b. 1516 d. 1558
Elizabeth
of Valois
b. 1545 d. 1568
Anna
of Austria
b. 1549 d. 1580
Elizabeth
b. 1554 d. 1592
Ten others unnamed
Don Carlos
b. 1545 d. 1568
Isabella Clara
of England
b. 1566 d. 1633
Catherine
Michelle
b. 1567 d. 1597
Ferdinand
of Austria
b. 1571 d. 1578
Diego
of Austria
b. 1575 d. 1582
Philip III
of Spain
(1598–1621)
b. 1578 d. 1621
(M) 1599
(M) 1585
(M) 1599
(M) 1582
Albert VII
of Austria
Charles Emmanuel I
of Savoy
Albert VII
of Austria
* HRE = Holy Roman Empire

Chapter 8
AFTERMATH: FRANCE

Although significant changes occurred with respect to Spain's dominant position in Europe and its control of the Netherlands in the aftermath of Henry II's death, the most direct consequences of the fatal joust occurred in France. During the major portion of the final four decades of the sixteenth century, the successors to the throne would be characterized by youth and political inexperience. The initial successor, a fifteen-year-old boy, was soon followed by his ten-year-old brother, and, subsequently, the twenty-two-year-old youngest of Henry's sons. The lack of maturity would lead to a dependence on the role of their mother, Catherine de' Medici, as a political force. The crowning of Henry of Navarre as Henry IV toward the end of that century brought an end to the dynasty of the House of Valois.

Spain had experienced losses of political control and territorial possessions outside its immediate borders and, consequently, of its international dominance. This was related in part to the Reformation. By contrast, in the years that followed the death of Henry II, most of France's problems were related to religious strife, which was essentially confined within its own borders. The religious polarization in France was the major political issue from which most of the dramatic events in the forty-one years after Henry's death would evolve. Those upheavals were greatly influenced by tensions between the French king, who was the de facto leader of the Catholic Church in France, and the French nobility. The closeness between France and Geneva, which housed the source of Protestant persuasion and proselytizing, and their common language contributed to the rapid dissemination of religion-induced conflicts in France.

The death of Henry II, who was regarded as a determined persecutor of Protestants, interrupted his own avowed plan to eradicate heresy. Pope Paul IV, who was allied with France rather than Spain, had encouraged Henry to initiate a military expedition to the southwest portion of his realm, where most of the Protestants resided.[1] That undertaking, which was scheduled to begin shortly after the marital celebrations, died with Henry.

The notable French men and women, who had gathered to celebrate the two royal weddings and witnessed the fatal joust, had their lives transformed by the event. The life of the man who had unintentionally administered the fatal blow to Henry was replete with

drama consisting of elements from which novels evolve. An adaptation of the life of Gabriel de Lorges, Count Montgomery, appears in Alexandre Dumas's *The Two Dianas* (1846).

The count was the persistent object of revenge on the part of Catherine de' Medici, who held him personally responsible for her husband's death and the consequent adverse effects on France. She contended that Montgomery should be convicted of regicide. Although there is disagreement as to Catherine's reputation for pervasive vengefulness, there is no argument regarding her personal vendetta against the Count of Montgomery.[2]

After he was specifically pardoned by Henry, Montgomery retreated to his estates, studied theology, and converted to Protestantism. His social status and military expertise were quickly invoked. This raised him to a position of leadership among the French Protestant Huguenots.

Montgomery's initial military encounter on behalf of the Protestant cause occurred on October 12, 1562, when he led Huguenot troops who successfully defended the town of Rouen against the French monarch's army, leaving 1,500 royal soldiers dead.[3] Rouen eventually was forced to surrender to the royal troops led by the Duke of Aumâle in October, at which time Montgomery's wife was captured but later set free by order of the king's council. Gabriel, much to Catherine de' Medici's displeasure, escaped aboard a ship before the town was captured.

In November the count traveled to London to solicit financial support for the Huguenot cause from Queen Elizabeth, who responded with a small contribution. During that visit, the Viscount of Martigues was asked by the French ambassador to London to betray Montgomery so that he could be captured, but the viscount refused. Montgomery's visibility continued to rise, and he was selected in 1564 by Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, leader of the Huguenots, as their emissary to Flanders at a time when the Netherlander Protestants were increasing their dissension against the rigid and punitive treatment of "heretics" by the Spanish leadership.[4] These religious inhumanities provided stimulus for foreign intervention.

In the fall of 1568, Montgomery led a contingent of cavalry and troops that rescued a besieged segment of the Protestant army by finding a safe passage across the Loire Valley to La Rochelle.[5] At the battle of Jarnac in March 1569, a dead horse with a saddle bearing Montgomery's crest was found, and Commander Petrucci wrote to the Duke of Tuscany that Montgomery had died.[6] But before that communiqué had been received, Montgomery appeared in Cognac, where he convened with Huguenot leaders and directed the fortification of that city.

Later that year, Montgomery lifted a siege at the town of Navarrenx in the Pyrénées-Atlantique department in southwest France, and captured the town of Orthez. He was then called upon to oversee the rebuilding of the Huguenot army, and was given a seat on the Huguenot supreme command, second only to Admiral Gaspard de Coligny.[7] In appreciation for Montgomery's role in achieving temporary civil and religious equality for the Protestants, the queen of Navarre granted him a castle in Perigord and negotiated that Catherine de' Medici pardon him for the death of Henry.

On December 15, 1571, Montgomery's second daughter married the son of Sir Arthur Champernown, the vice admiral of England, in Greenwich Castle, which was one of the residences of Elizabeth I. On that occasion Montgomery was extended multiple courtesies by the queen.[8]

Just prior to the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre, in August 1572, after a failed attempt on Admiral Coligny's life, Montgomery moved out of Paris and across the river to Saint Germain in order to expedite an escape, should it be necessary. While there he was warned of the impending massacre. He departed immediately for the Island of Jersey and was joined by his family. Charles IX issued an order for his arrest and return to France, but Elizabeth I refused to extradite him.[9]

An incident that affected Montgomery's status with Queen Elizabeth occurred shortly thereafter. In keeping with her political astuteness, Catherine de' Medici chose Queen Elizabeth as godmother for the newly born son of Charles IX. The Earl of Worcester appeared at the baptism as Elizabeth's representative. During the earl's return voyage, the convoy was attacked by Dutch pirates, who were associated with Montgomery. The count immediately fell out of grace with Elizabeth, who forbade him from leaving English soil. Elizabeth eventually pardoned him.

In April 1573, a fleet of forty-five vessels that Montgomery assembled left England and was seen off the coast of the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle. Montgomery's mission was to break the siege of that city by French troops, but he was warned to abort the attempt because he was outmanned by a fleet commanded by the Duke of Anjou. Montgomery decided to deploy his fleet north, where his ships terrorized the French coast.[10]

On May 1, 1574, Montgomery initiated a new campaign to lead Huguenot troops against royal forces in Normandy. The attack failed and Montgomery surrendered at Domfront to Matignon on May 25.[11] Though he was assured of a pardon by Charles IX, the king died five days later. Catherine was jubilant over the capture of Montgomery, and, on the day before Charles IX died, she rushed into the dying king's chamber and announced that his father's murderer had been

caught.[12]

On June 26 Gabriel de Lorges, Count of Montgomery, was tried in Paris and convicted of a crime against the royal majesty (crime de lese-Majesté). He was decapitated and quartered that day while Catherine witnessed the event from her window in the Hôtel de Ville. All of the count's properties were confiscated and his children were stripped of their titles. The death was deeply mourned by the entire Huguenot citizenry.

Catherine de' Medici survived for thirty years after the death of the husband she adored, and during those three decades, she was a major presence and the most persistently influential individual in France. As the mother of three monarchs, two of whom rose to the throne as youths, her maturity and political astuteness were essential elements during their rule. While her influence waned during the monarchy of her third and favorite son, Henry III, her presence remained apparent. The appropriateness of her appellations of "The Black Queen" or "Madame le Serpente" remains controversial. Her efforts as a sagacious political strategist are offset by the consideration of her as a diabolic conspirator. Her attempts at religious reconciliation and tolerance are overshadowed by her role in the massacre of thousands of "heretics."

Catherine's presence became manifest as her husband was dying. The first to feel the effect was Henry II's mistress, Diane de Poitiers. Diane was not permitted to visit the king's chambers, and subsequently left Paris. She immediately returned all the jewels that she had received from Henry, which was considered property of the crown. Catherine appropriated the Château Clemenceau, which had been given to Diane for her own use. Diane, shortly thereafter, established her permanent residence in Ante. Francis II, later, informed Diane that as she was "an evil influence with the king, his father, she merited a severe punishment, but that in his royal clemency, he did not wish to disquiet her further."[13]

Diane died at age sixty-six and was buried near her residence. The tomb was opened during the French Revolution and her remains were placed in a mass grave. She was the subject of several works of fiction and a Hollywood movie, *Diane* (1956), in which Lana Turner portrayed her. A recent study in the *British Medical Journal* indicates that Diane died of high levels of gold that were imbibed because the precious metal was believed to be an elixir to preserve youth.[14]

Catherine's emotional reaction to her husband's death was intense. The location of the joust immediately became and remained repugnant. After the Henry died, Catherine left the Hotel des Tournelles and took up residence at the Louvre. In 1563, she obtained from her son, Charles IX, an edict ordering the demolition of the Hôtel

des Tournelles.

Francis II, the fifteen-year-old son of Henry II, ascended to the throne after the death of his father and was crowned on September 18, 1559, at Rheims in accordance with French tradition. He was a sickly child, who had married Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, in a lavish ceremony in Paris on April 24, 1558, and thus also bore the title of King Consort of Scots. Francis lacked maturity and had inherited a country that was in significant debt as a consequence of the prolonged Italian Wars.

Francis demonstrated little interest in governing and spent most of his time at sports and hunting. The Guise brothers, who were Mary Stuart's uncles by marriage, emerged as the dominant powers at the French court. Francis Guise was in charge of the military while his brother, Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, was in control of domestic and foreign affairs.

Fig. 44. Francis II of France.

During the reign of Francis II, Catherine maintained a regal presence as Queen Mother, usually dressed in minimally adorned black gowns. In accordance with protocol, she transferred the crown jewels that were in her possession to her daughter-in-law, Mary, but Catherine's strong influence over Francis persisted. His enactments were introduced with the statement, "This being the good pleasure of the Queen, my lady-mother, and I. . . ."[15]

In February 1560, rumors spread of a plot directed against the Guises' power. At this point Catherine argued for appeasement of the Protestants and reduction of hostile acts against them. This resulted in

the Edict of Amboise, offering amnesty for religious crimes, except those associated with rebellion.

In the vicinity of the town of Amboise, where the court was conducting its business, a small group of conspirators led by the Seigneur de la Renaudie was deployed. Their plan included the capture of Francis II and the arrest of the Duke of Guise and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, the leaders of the French Catholics. The conspirators were repulsed, captured, and executed. This was followed by the execution of fifty-two noble ringleaders in the courtyard of Amboise, witnessed by Francis II, Catherine, and her ten-year-old second son, Charles-Maximilian.[16]

In November 1560, Francis II developed an infection in his left ear and it is likely that the infection spread to the brain, resulting in his death on December 15. The king, who ruled for only sixteen months and died at age sixteen, satisfied Nostradamus's prediction that Catherine's eldest son would die before he was eighteen.

Ten-year-old Charles-Maximilian was crowned Charles IX at Rheims on May 15, 1561. His youth created the necessity for a regency and Catherine immediately established herself in that role after she successfully maneuvered against the potential of Antoine de Bourbon assuming the position. Catherine took over the royal household, retrieved the crown jewels from Mary Stuart, and, on December 21, she had herself declared "Gouvernante de France" (Governess of France). The seal created for the new office depicted her with a scepter in her right hand and the index finger of her left hand pointed upward, as a symbol of power. The inscription read, "Catherine by the grace of God, Queen of France, Mother of the King."

The French Wars of Religion, which pitted Huguenots and those of the French populace who followed the precepts of Calvinism against the dominant French Catholics, began at the onset of the reign of Charles IX and persisted throughout his reign. Initially, as is evidenced by the Edict of Saint-Germain in January 1562, the regency of Catherine de' Medici endorsed a politically expedient policy of religious toleration. It specifically separated worship and religious meetings, which were permitted, from rebellion and sedition, which were punishable by death.

The first shots of the wars of religion were fired on March 1, 1562, at the village of Vassy, where Francis Guise and his troops were attending Sunday mass and were disturbed by a Calvinist service, which was being conducted in a nearby barn. Troops were sent to quell the noise, a fight ensued, and about thirty Calvinists were killed.

The early part of the war was characterized by atrocities carried out by both sides. Monks were murdered at Sens; Protestants were drowned at Tours; Huguenots were decapitated at Angers; and the late

King Francis II's heart was removed from its urn at Saint Denis and burned.[17] The leadership of the Huguenot movement was taken over by sympathetic members of the nobility. An appreciable number of nobles provided support, and armed forces developed. In April Prince Louis Bourbon of Condé, who along with Admiral Gaspard de Coligny were the two major Huguenot military leaders, captured Orleáns.

A group of nobles consisting of Francis Guise, Constable Anne of Montmorency, and Marshal Jacques de Saint André, who collectively became known as the Triumvirate, were placed in charge of the Catholic forces. Rouen fell to Catholic royal forces in October, during which the Huguenot leader, Antoine de Bourbon, was fatally wounded. The only major battle of the first religious war occurred at Dreux with the Catholic forces led by Francis Guise emerging victorious. Marshal Saint André was killed, and the leaders on each side, Montmorency and Condé, were captured. In February 1563, Francis Guise went to Orleáns, where a siege by Catholic troops was underway. While there, he was murdered by a Huguenot who had infiltrated the Catholic lines. The first religious war ended in March with the Peace of Amboise, which allowed the Huguenots limited freedom of worship.

Both sides had sought foreign aid during the first religious war. The crown and Catholics made overtures to Spain and the papacy, while the Protestants solicited England and the Holy Roman Empire. During the time that the opposing sides were at peace, Catherine brought Huguenot and Catholic troops together. In July 1563, those troops ejected the English from Le Havre, which they had occupied as compensation for the loss of Calais. At the Treaty of Troyes in April 1564, the English officially recognized French ownership of Calais.

The declaration of Charles IX's majority at Rouen in August 1563 during his fourteenth year enforced the recognition of his role as monarch. This would diminish the powers of the Guises and other leading members of the Catholic nobility. The timing was deemed appropriate for Catherine to expose all of France to their king. She consequently orchestrated a grand tour of the entire realm. This was known as a royal progress, and extended from January 1564 until May 1566. During this journey, which was designed to attract political support for the king from his subjects and also from Philip II of Spain, Charles and Catherine met her daughter, Queen Elizabeth of Spain. The meeting is described in more detail in the previous chapter.

The second War of Religion was incited in September 1567, when Coligny and Condé amassed troops in order to liberate the king from the Guise-controlled court and set up a blockade around Paris. The only major battle occurred in November at Saint Denis, north of Paris. The Protestant army led by Condé was repelled, but, in the course of

battle, Constable Anne of Montmorency died of wounds inflicted during the engagement. He was buried near the tomb of Henry II, the king he served so well.

For a brief period, the Protestant forces continued to lay siege to several towns in the Loire valley, but, recognizing that they were at an impasse, they agreed to a peace settlement in March 1568. This was based on the terms of the previous Treaty of Amboise of 1563. The new agreement, known as the Treaty of Longjumeau, recognized Protestantism and allowed worship in the suburbs of one town in each smaller subdivision, known as a bailliage, throughout the country and also on the estates of sympathetic nobles. The terms of this treaty displeased the Catholic leadership, particularly the cardinal of Lorraine. In August, the Declaration of Saint-Maur banned any worship other than Catholicism throughout France. The council also voted to arrest Coligny and Condé, who escaped to La Rochelle and immediately strengthened their forces.

One month later the third War of Religion had its onset with the encouragement and support of the Catholics by Philip II. Another stimulus was the development of so-called co-fraternities of militant lay Catholics throughout the land established to eradicate Protestantism.[18] On the other side, the Huguenots received the support of troops from the Netherlands and a mercenary army from Germany. The war lasted from the autumn of 1568 to the summer of 1570.

The first major battle took place in March 1569, at Jarnac near Angoulême. Charles IX's younger brother, Henry, Duke of Anjou, was in titular command of the royal army, but he was guided by the Seigneur of Tavannes. The Huguenots were badly defeated and their commander Louis, Prince of Condé, was killed during the fighting. This left Admiral Gaspard de Coligny as head of the Huguenot army.

The Huguenot army was next defeated at Montecour near Poitiers in October. They retreated to Languedoc, where the royal army conducted a siege of the Huguenot stronghold of St.-Jean-d'Angély near Saintes. The siege was unsuccessful despite heavy losses among the Catholic troops. The Huguenot army subsequently defeated the royal army at Arnay-le Duc in June 1570. The Edict of Saint-Germain, which was signed on August 8, ended the third French War of Religion. This segment of the French Wars of Religion was characterized by more involvement of civilians and more loss of life than the prior two. The treaty represented a gain for the Protestants, who had their previously confiscated property restored. They were granted more religious privileges, and also were allowed to occupy the fortified towns of La Rochelle, Cognac, and Montauban in the southwest, and La Charité on the Loire.[19]

The beginning of the eighth decade of the sixteenth century was marked by an air of relative tranquility. On November 26, 1570, Charles IX had married Elizabeth of Austria, the younger daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor. Elizabeth would give birth to one daughter, who survived only six years. The influence of the strongly pro-Catholic Guises had waned allowing Catherine de' Medici's influence to become more dominant. As an accompaniment to efforts directed at breaking down barriers between the dominant Catholic society and constantly increasing number of Huguenots, Catherine focused on arrangements for marriages between her available children and the Protestant queen of England and Henry, the Protestant Bourbon prince of Navarre.

Nineteen-year-old Henry, Duke of Anjou and heir to the throne of France, was to marry Elizabeth I, the thirty-seven-year-old English monarch. Henry was a complex individual. He was named Alexandre Edouard at birth in 1551, and granted the titles of Duke of Angoulême and Duke of Orléans in 1560, and Duke of Anjou in 1566. His name was changed to Henry in 1564 because it was assumed that he would someday rule France as Henry III.

Fig. 45. Charles IX of France.

Unlike his father, he preferred partaking of the arts rather than physical activities. His propensity for lavish, highly decorative clothing and jewelry added to his effeminate image, and there is a continuing argument regarding his supposed homosexuality. In January 1571, Henry indicated that he would not marry the English queen, and Catherine made a vain attempt at substituting his younger brother, the sixteen-year-old Francis-Hercules, Duke of Alençon.[20]

Catherine succeeded in her marital match-making between her daughter Margaret (Margot) and Henry of Navarre. Margaret, the least

liked of Catherine's children, would eventually, as a consequence of her beauty and scandalous behavior, be memorialized in Shakespeare's *Loves Labor Lost,* in Alexandre Dumas, père's *La Reine Margot* (1845), in Meyerbeer's opera *Les Huguenots* (1836), and the modern French film *La Reine Margot* (1994).

Fig. 46. Marguerite (Margot) of France and Navarre.

The marriage between Margaret of Valois and Henry of Navarre would effectively join the House of Valois with the junior branch of the royal family, the House of Bourbon, in addition to creating an alliance with the nominal head of the Huguenots. The groom's mother, Queen Jeanne d'Albert of Navarre, was enticed into agreement for the marriage with the provision that a proxy could

stand in for her son, who would not be required to enter Nôtre Dame and participate in the Nuptial Mass.

In June, about two months after the signing of a marital contract, Jeanne d'Albert died of tuberculosis, leading to the unsubstantiated rumor that indicated Catherine had ordered the poisoning of the queen of Navarre.[21] A papal dispensation, which would permit Margaret's marriage to Henry of Navarre, who espoused Protestantism and shared a third-order relationship of consanguinity with a Catholic bride, was required.

The wedding, which took place on August 18, 1572, formed the backdrop and the stimulus for gathering of crowds of the two opposing French religious factions in Paris. It created an ambiance that would lead to the infamous Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre. It is ironic that one royal wedding celebration led to a death that would have a profound effect on the future of France and all of Europe, and another royal wedding celebration also played a significant role in the history of France.

Paris was a city dominated by a Catholic court and a Catholic populace that was passionately opposed to Protestantism. In the months prior to the wedding tensions had escalated markedly. As the wedding between an unwilling bride and equally unwilling bridegroom approached, the population swelled with Huguenot nobles and peasants from throughout the land coming to view a spectacle and participate in the revelry. A poor harvest related to drought stimulated many to use the opportunity to acquire food from the feasts.[22]

The influx of Huguenots led to vitriolic preaching against "heretics" from the Catholic pulpits. The flames of hatred were stoked and tensions became increasingly palpable as the days passed. In the political arena, after a Huguenot force of five thousand that had entered the Netherlands was defeated, Admiral Coligny tried to convince Charles IX, who had previously relied upon Coligny for advice, to send an army into the Netherlands in support of the Dutch and create stability. The Queen Mother strongly objected, and a heated council meeting was held on August 9 and 10, at which time the plan was voted down with a single contrary vote by Coligny.[23]

In defiance of the council, Coligny continued to raise a force to fight against Spain in the Netherlands, and positioned troops close to the border. This probably added an inducement for Catherine, who vied with Admiral Coligny as prime advisor to King Charles, to plan for the murder of her opponent. As a modern historian of the French Wars of Religion has proposed, the so-called Saint Bartholomew's Day massacres consisted of four interconnected events: the failed assassination of Admiral Coligny, the successful assassination of

Coligny and other Huguenot leaders on August 24, a wave of popular killings in Paris, and the spread of massacres over the next two months throughout the provinces.[24]

Four days after the wedding ceremony, while returning from a meeting with Charles IX in the Louvre, Coligny was shot in the arm by a would-be assassin located in a nearby window. As noted previously, the victim's medical needs were met by Ambroise Paré (see p. 146). Argument persists concerning the identity of the individual who ordered the assassination, Catherine de' Medici or Guise.[25] General violence broke out in Paris leading to the call of a council meeting by Catherine in anticipation of Huguenot reprisal. The council agreed to the urgency of the situation, and immediately acted to convince the king that the Protestant leadership, which was present in Paris at the time, had to be eliminated.

At the dawn of the feast day honoring Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, who was martyred when he was flayed and then crucified for bringing Christianity to Armenia in the first century, the tolling of the bells of the Palais de Justice at three o'clock in the morning signaled the onset.[26] Henry, Duke of Guise and son of Duke Francis, who had been murdered in 1563, led a contingent to the Hôtel de Béthizy to kill the admiral. After being pierced by a sword and finished off with blows, Coligny's body was thrown from a window. Later, a crowd of Parisian Catholics removed the head, hands, and genitals from the torso, which was burned and thrown into the Seine.

The murder of Admiral Coligny was but one segment of the coordinated assassination of several dozen Huguenot leaders, many of whom were staying at the Louvre during the wedding celebrations. The king's bodyguards and the personal troops of the dukes of Guise, Aumale, and Nevers, of the Seigneur de Tavannes, and of Henri d'Angoulême, the illegitimate son of Henry II, carried out the task that had been ordered by the king.[27] Most of the Huguenot leaders were executed during a three-hour period. Before those killings were initiated, Henry of Navarre and his cousin Henry of Condé were counseled by Charles IX that if they recanted their religious beliefs, they would be spared. They agreed and were placed under palace arrest. They would renounce their conversions as soon as they left Paris.

Over the next three days, a massacre of the populace spread throughout Paris. Most of the killings were carried out by Catholic civilians with the conviction that they were carrying out the king's and God's will to eradicate the heretics. That action was spontaneous, having not been planned by the royal council. Brutality, mutilation, and dehumanization characterized the killings.

The last stage of the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre shifted,

over the ensuing six weeks, from Paris to provinces throughout France, extending from Rouen in the north to Toulouse in the south, from Bordeaux in the west to Lyon in the east. The twelve cities in which massacres occurred were characterized by the presence of a Catholic majority and a significant Protestant minority.[28] The cumulative number of deaths related to the massacres was estimated to have been twelve thousand individuals.[29] The massacre markedly amplified the French Protestants' distrust of the monarchy, to which they could no longer offer allegiance.

Catherine's appellation as the "Black Queen" was engrained for the future as a consequence of the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre. All of Catherine de' Medici's expressions of enlightenment and her efforts at reconciliation were erased from remembrance and replaced by the image of a scheming, devious, malicious, hateful woman in an exalted position of leadership.

The massacres ignited the fourth French War of Religion. Its focus was in the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle, where the population refused to admit the Catholic governor, who was appointed by the king. War was declared by Charles IX on November 6, 1572, and a siege of La Rochelle was begun in February 1573. The siege turned out to be a fiasco for the French and was terminated within months. The brief fourth war ended with the signing of the Peace of La Rochelle on July 2, 1573. The treaty allowed for Protestant worship in private homes in La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nimes, but disallowed any worship in public.

In 1573, because the Jagiellonian king of Poland, Sigismund Augustus II, had no male heirs, a process to select a new monarch was initiated. The Habsburg King Maximilian II's son, the king of Sweden's son, the Duke of Prussia, and Henry of Anjou were the major contenders. Much to the delight of Charles IX, who was anxious to create distance between himself and his brother, Henry, and also to Catherine de' Medici, who desired a kingdom for her favorite child, on May 11, 1573, forty thousand nobles elected Henry of Anjou king of Poland.

Fig. 47. Henry III of France.

Henry's active role in Poland ended abruptly on May 30, 1574, when his brother, Charles IX, died at the age of twenty-four from a lengthy illness. A formal document declared that the fifty-five-year-old Catherine de' Medici would serve as regent until her twenty-two-year-old son was crowned as Henry III. Henry, who, despite being associated with past military victories at Jarnac and Moncontour, was noted for his effeminateness and idiosyncrasies, including "ostentation and laxity. . . together with an unfortunate penchant for frivolous living,"[30] did not return to France for four months. Instead, he made a

leisurely tour of Italy and Savoy, where he visited his aunt and uncle, the duke and duchess.

Henry III was crowned at Rheims on February 13, 1575. Although he was intelligent and more concerned with the business and finance of his monarchy than most of his contemporaries, he was probably the most vilified of French monarchs up to that time. Even his wedding to Princess Louise de Vaudémont of Lorraine, which took place two days after the coronation, was the subject of ridicule. It was noted with disdain that Henry insisted on designing the wedding gown and styling the bride's hair.[31]

His reign would be marked by four civil wars between Protestants and Catholics and also a battle for control between himself and a Catholic power base. At the time of Henry III's return to Paris after his coronation, Henry of Navarre, his brother-in-law, and Francis, Duke of Alençon, the king's younger brother, were still in royal custody. Alençon, who had previously plotted to relieve Catherine of her power as regent and who was envious of both Charles IX and Henry III, fled custody in September 1575. He immediately issued a personal declaration decrying the tyranny and disarray of the government. Although he was a Catholic, his position firmly allied him with the Huguenot cause.

In February 1576, Henry of Navarre escaped, and soon thereafter Protestant forces led by him, Condé, Henry of Montmorency, and Sieur of Damville received the support of twenty thousand German mercenaries under the command of Frederick III of the Palatinate's son, John Casmir.[32] Alençon aligned himself with this group and spoke for them in presenting their demands to the king. Those demands were sweeping in nature, and included erasing restrictions on the practice of Protestantism, including representatives of that religion in various parlements, and allowing the maintenance of fortified towns. In addition, the crown was to defray the expenses of the German mercenary forces, which had already reached central France.

On May 6, 1576, the Edict of Beaulieu, known as "La Paix de Monsieur" because Alençon negotiated for the Protestants and benefited from the terms, brought an end to the fifth French War of Religion, which was fought without one major battle and only a single skirmish. The French Protestants were allowed to practice religion in an uncompromised fashion throughout the land, with the exception of Paris. A mechanism to effectively preclude religious discrimination in the court system was created, and the king was to convene the Estates General (noble, clergy, commoners) within six months.

Fig. 48. The Duke of Alençon.

The Duke of Alençon, who, much to Henry III's and Catherine's dismay, was next in line for the throne, gained personally by being granted the duchies of Anjou, Touraine, and Berry as well as an augmented annual pension.[33] The Parlement of Paris refused to endorse the edict and the populace of that city demonstrated against each of the elements enunciated in the declaration. The meeting of the Estates General, which was prescribed by the edict, met at Blois in November and was constituted almost solely with Catholic delegates. They voted to overturn the Edict of Beaulieu, but a lack of financial support precluded any action.

The discontent among Catholics consequent to the Edict of Beaulieu and their dissatisfaction with Henry III's execution of his role as leader and defender of the French Catholic Church led to the formation, spread, and consolidation of Catholic leagues throughout the land. Henry, Duke of Guise, the son of Francis, was accepted as the leader of the leaguers, and a strong sentiment called for the replacement of the king by Guise and the punishment of Alençon for joining the Huguenot cause.

These actions led to reconciliation between the two brothers, Henry III and Alençon. Henry declared himself to be head of the Catholic League and Alençon became titular head of the military. The sixth War of Religion began on May 2, 1577, when troops led by the Duke of Nevers captured the Protestant stronghold of La Charité-sur-Loire. Alençon called for the massacre of the Huguenot inhabitants but the Duke of Guise interceded to prevent it. The Catholic forces went on to capture Issoire in the Auvergne in June, and Alençon oversaw the killing of three thousand citizens.[34]

The war ended on September 17, 1577, with the signing of the Peace of Bergerac, also known as the "Paix du Roi" (Peace of the King). The treaty reversed most of the concessions to the Protestants that were granted in the Edict of Beaulieu and also banned all leagues and confraternities. It represented a compromise between the edict and the policy articulated by the Estates General at Blois. Neither side was satisfied.

The seventh War of Religion was a minor event and was overshadowed by a series of peasant revolts that took place in 1579, for reasons mainly unrelated to religious issues. The peasants joined forces against the troops of both religious factions that taxed them and forced them from their homes. In the village of Cuers near Toulon, peasants massacred six hundred associates of the Catholic Count of Carcès.[35] In March 1580, peasant forces were massacred by royal troops in the town of Moirans.

The confrontation of opposed religious elements that constituted the seventh war took place in the summer and spring of 1580. The seventh War of French Religion was later referred to as the "Lover's War" because it was erroneously blamed on contemporary sexual scandals involving both Queen Margaret (Margot) and Henry of Navarre. In retribution for the fact that he had not received a part of Margaret of Valois's dowry that had been promised eight years previously, Henry of Navarre seized several Catholic strongholds. The sole military confrontation of the war occurred at Cahors. Because neither side could gain an advantage, the Duke of Anjou and Henry of Navarre conducted negotiations that resulted in the signing of the Peace of Fleix on November 26, 1580. The terms of the 1577 Peace of Bergerac were replicated. Once again enforcement that allowed for Huguenot rights could not be achieved.

Toward the end of the eighth decade, the then powerful and wealthy Queen Elizabeth of England indicated an interest in reopening talks, which had been initiated in 1572, related to her marriage with Alençon, who had made an unofficial incognito visit to England in August 1579. Although there is some indication that Elizabeth found her suitor to be charming, her court considered marriage to a foreign

Catholic to be abhorrent, thus the possibility of a union rapidly waned.[36]

In 1580, international politics was dominated by the rivalry for the throne of Portugal. After King Sebastian had died in 1578 at the battle of Alcazarquivir fighting the Moors, the throne was occupied briefly by his uncle, Cardinal Henry. In 1580, Henry died without naming a successor, and both Catherine de' Medici and Philip II of Spain claimed the throne as their own. Philip, whose mother was King Henry of Portugal's sister, had the stronger claim and he was able to add Portugal to his realm.

In June 1582, Catherine sent an expedition of French troops led by her cousin Filippo Strozzi to remove the Spanish military presence from Portugal. The Spanish, under the command of the Marquis de Santa Cruz, the hero of the battle of Lepanto, decisively defeated the French. Strozzi was killed in battle and the captive French soldiers were executed. A second French expedition was also soundly defeated, and France soon withdrew its claim.

France's involvement with Portugal was accompanied by an increasing presence of the French in the Netherlands in support of the Dutch interests. In September 1580, a document was signed at Plessis-lès-Tours with representatives from the seven northern provinces making the Duke of Alençon their sovereign prince. In February 1582, he entered Antwerp, escorted by William of Orange, and was formally installed as the Duke of Brabant. But Alençon received insufficient financial aid from France, and his troops' frustration led to their attempt to take Antwerp. In what later came to be known as the "French fury," the citizens defeated and massacred the duke's men, including many distinguished members of the French nobility. The duke returned to France and took up residence at Château Thierry, where his health deteriorated, probably due to tuberculosis, and he died on June 10, 1584, leaving no indisputable successor to the throne of France.

The Salic Law, which had been adhered to in France since 1328, governed royal succession. It declared that, in the absence of a father-son succession, the throne would pass to the closest male relative with a lineage in the male line, that is, a past monarch common to himself and the currently reigning king. According to Salic Law, Henry of Navarre, whose lineage went back to the sixth son of Bourbon King Louis IX and was a distant, twenty-two degrees of blood relative to Henry III, became the royal successor.

Fig. 49. Henry of Navarre, Henry IV of France.

This instilled new energy and became a *cause celèbre* for the French Catholics, leading to the creation of the Holy Union, more commonly known as the Catholic League. The league championed Cardinal Charles of Bourbon, who was Henry of Navarre's nephew, as the royal successor, because they were unwilling to accept Henry of Navarre, a "heretical" Protestant, as their monarch. The league was led by Henry of Guise, the most popular man in France at that time. The French succession had a potential impact on the Dutch Revolt in that a Protestant monarch was more likely to sympathize with Dutch Protestants. Therefore, Philip II agreed, at the secretly executed Treaty of Joinville in December 1584, to provide financial support to the league in its war against the Huguenots.

In March 1587, the Catholic League issued a public statement of its goals to place the cardinal on the throne if Henry III died and to restore Catholicism to its position of dominance throughout the entire country. The basis of the league's tenet that Catholicism trumped Salic Law was the unique status of the French monarch enunciated in the coronation oath, as "Most Christian King" and functional head of the Catholic Church in France.

The curtain was raised on the drama of the eighth French civil war with the death of the Duke of Alençon. This particular civil war,

also known as the "War of the Three Henries" (Henry III; Henry of Navarre; and Henry, Duke of Guise), would prove to be the longest and bloodiest of the French religious wars. It would persist until almost the end of the century and consume the energies, not to mention the resources, of two French monarchs.

At the onset of the civil war, noble leaders of the league controlled vast expanses of land with a large population throughout France. In addition to Guise's oversight in the north and east with its base in Champagne, his brother, the Duke of Mayenne, governed Burgundy, while his distant cousin, the Duke of Mercoeur, governed Brittany, and his two first cousins, the Duke of Aunale and the Duke of Elbeuf, had power bases in Picardy and Normandy, respectively.[37]

But, perhaps more significant was the organization of league elements in city halls throughout the kingdom. In Paris, the most Catholic of all French urban areas, an organization known as the Sixteen, because it represented the sixteen *quartiers* of the city, posed a powerful opposition to Protestantism.

In March 1585, the League at Rheims, rejected Henry of Navarre as successor to the throne, endorsed Cardinal Charles of Bourbon, and openly criticized Henry III and Catherine de' Medici for their policy of religious tolerance. Three months later, in the Treaty of Nemours, Henry III revoked previous acts of pacification, forbade the practice of Protestantism, called for the disbanding of all Huguenot fortifications, and explicitly made it illegal for a Protestant to reign. The papal stamp of approval was applied two months later when Pope Sixtus V excommunicated Henry of Navarre.

In 1585, Guise raised a military force and took control of a large segment of eastern France. Henry of Navarre countered in the southwest and, in the spring of 1587, a German Protestant force crossed the border to join him. Henry III commissioned the Duke of Guise to attack the Germans while the Duke of Joyeuse, Henry's favorite, was sent with royal troops to battle with Henry of Navarre's army. On October 20, Navarre defeated Joyeuse, who was killed during the battle at Coutras. On October 26, Guise defeated the Germans at Vimroy, and repeated his success in the battle at Auneau in November. In a move to maintain the perception of his royal power, Henry III then dispatched the Duke of Epernon with forces to move between Guise's troops and the Protestants, thereby preventing pursuit of the Germans, much to the annoyance of the league.[38]

In early 1588, the deaths of Prince Henry of Condé, and Guillaume-Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon, left Henry of Navarre as the only major Protestant leader. The year would be memorable as one of intense political maneuvering and one in which Henry III's reign reached its nadir of popular support. The Parisian members of

the Catholic League, the organization's strongest element, invited Henry Guise, as the nation's heroic defender of the faith, to make an appearance in their city. The league believed that the king had renewed an alliance with Henry of Navarre, who was poised to enter Paris with his army, and the league members preached the possibility of another Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre. Henry III feared that he might be deposed as king once Guise entered Paris.

The Duke of Guise arrived on May 9 to assert the league's and his personal claim to the kingdom. May 12 was named by the Parisians the "Day of the Barricades." The Parisian leaguers, known as the Sixteen, were disturbed by the fact that the king had engaged four thousand Swiss Guard as protection and had positioned them throughout the city. The concern that the presence of a mercenary military force might provoke a city-wide massacre prompted the general populace to take up arms and create barricades. Faced with a revolution and in fear for his life, Henry III secretly escaped Paris for Chartres. The symbolic political vacuum led to the takeover by Guise and the Sixteen of most of the city's council, the Arsenal, the Bastille, and the Palais de Justice, where Parlement met.

In July Henry III issued the Edict of Union, which essentially reaffirmed the 1585 Treaty of Nemours in that he vowed to fight heresy. Henry also formally recognized the cardinal of Bourbon as his successor, thus precluding any consideration of the heretic Henry of Navarre. The revolutionary government of Paris was declared to be legitimate. The king was required to convene the Estates General in October in order to plan the eradication of the Huguenots. Henry III responded as a manipulated puppet and temporarily assumed his position as a figurehead for the leaguers, thus providing added legitimacy for their cause.

As the year was drawing to a close, Henry III dramatically reversed his course and struck back at the league. On December 23, 1588, while the Estates General was still in session, he summoned the Duke of Guise and his brother, the cardinal of Guise, to his chambers at Blois. The duke was killed by the king's guards, and the cardinal was arrested and murdered the next day. Their bodies were mutilated and burned. Leaders of the Sixteen and their designated heir to the throne, the cardinal of Bourbon, were arrested and imprisoned.

On January 5, 1589, the sixty-nine-year-old Queen Mother, Catherine de' Medici, died of pleurisy at Blois. Her body was buried in an unmarked grave at the Saint-Saveur courtyard where it remained for twenty-one years, at which time it was transferred to the Valois vault at Saint Denis. In the Cathedral of Saint Denis the marble sculptures of Henry II and Catherine rest side by side.

She had outlived her husband by almost thirty years, and all but

two of her ten children; only Henry III and Margot remained. She had been a presence as Queen Consort to Henry II, and, after his death, as council to three sons who subsequently ascended to the throne, and, as conciliator with a religiously polarized populace, she was dedicated to preserving the kingdom and the House of Valois. Her reputation was irretrievably tarnished by a single event, the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre. At the time of her death the House of Valois was moribund and shortly thereafter would be dealt its final blow.

Four months after Catherine died Henry III established an alliance with Henry of Navarre for a consolidated effort against their common enemy, the Catholic League, which controlled over half of France. The alliance was validated by the reigning monarch's endorsement of Henry of Navarre as his successor, who he hoped would soon convert to Catholicism. The conjoined forces of the two Henrys, consisting of forty thousand men, approached the league stronghold of Paris and camped at St. Cloud on the western outskirts of Paris about six miles from the city center.

On August 1, a young lay Dominican monk, Jacques Clément, consumed by the league's fervor, gained entrance to the camp and stabbed the king. Before Henry III succumbed the next day, he reaffirmed his endorsement of Henry of Navarre as successor to the throne and he beseeched Henry of Navarre to convert to Catholicism.

Thus, on August 2, 1589, Henry of Navarre of the House of Bourbon became king of France. Because a large number of troops that had been assembled by Henry III defected upon learning of his death, the attack on Paris was called off. Navarre moved his troops west into Normandy, where he hoped to receive reinforcement from the English. He was pursued by a force that was triple the size of his and led by the Duke of Mayenne. Navarre, although markedly outnumbered, withstood the league's army at a battle that took place at Arques in September. In March 1590, Navarre defeated Mayenne's forces at Ivry. Two months later, Navarre's army moved on to Paris and proceeded to blockade the city. For four months, the Parisians suffered great hardships and many died of starvation. In late August, Spanish forces from Flanders led by the Duke of Parma arrived in support of the leaguers, and the siege was lifted.

Fig. 50. Peter Rubens's painting of *Reconciliation between Henry III and Henry of Navarre*, courtesy of the Memorial Art Gallery, Rochester, New York.

Before the siege ended, the Catholic League suffered another blow when Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, whom the league recognized as Charles X, died while a captive of Henry of Navarre. In addition, Navarre indicated his intention to renounce his Protestantism and receive instruction in Catholicism, while insisting that freedom of worship should be allowed for Protestants throughout France.[39] In response, an increasing number of French nobles, who were willing to accept religious toleration for the good of the state, joined in support of Navarre.

In November, Navarre, in command of an increased force and with the support of English troops led by the Earl of Essex, laid siege to Rouen in Normandy. Once again, the Duke of Parma with a Spanish army from the Netherlands broke the siege that had been in effect for

five months.

The central conflict between Salic Law of French royal succession and Catholicism as the determinant for ascension to the throne of France was gradually resolved. On July 24, 1593, Henry of Navarre began to receive instruction in Catholicism, and signed a testament to his abjuration of Calvinism. The next day he attended mass at Saint Denis.[40] Because Rheims, the traditional coronation site of French kings, was held by a faction of the league that did not endorse Henry of Navarre, an alternate venue for the coronation was substituted. On February 27, 1594, Henry of Navarre was consecrated Henry IV, king of France, at Chartres. In the early morning of March 22, Henry IV entered Paris. By the end of that year, most of the league towns in the north submitted to the king.

In August 1595, Henry IV received absolution from Pope Clement VIII. Papal absolution satisfied most of the leaguers, but a belligerent group remained and was joined by Spanish forces. With evidence of an increasing antagonistic attitude toward France on the part of Philip II and the threat of an invasion by Spanish forces from the Netherlands, Henry issued a declaration of war against Spain. In June 1595, a combined Spanish League force led by the Duke of Mayenne was defeated by Henry IV near Dijon, the result of which was that Henry gained control over all of Burgundy. Two years later, Henry regained Picardy with a siege and battle at Amiens, which the Spanish had taken earlier that year. In early 1598, the last of the noble league holdouts, the Duke of Mercosur, submitted in Brittany.

The eighth of the French civil wars of religion ended on April 13, 1598, with the Edict of Nantes. The edict was directed at the creation of an atmosphere of religious coexistence and concordance on the part of the two divergent religious groups in regard to the affairs of a Catholic nation under the rule of a Catholic monarch. The document emphasized that Catholicism was the religion of the realm.

The edict's main section provided for general amnesty and freedom of worship for Catholics and Huguenots. With the exception of Paris and a twelve-mile radius around it, where Protestant worship was prohibited, neither religion could be barred in any locale. Also the edict declared that no one could be denied the right to hold office, enter schools and universities, or receive charities or care in hospitals because of their religious beliefs. The Huguenots had the right to maintain the garrisons, which they held in August 1597, and the royal treasury was made responsible for their financial support. In addition, the Huguenot pastors were subsidized by the government. Much to the displeasure of Pope Clement VIII, French Protestants traveling abroad had the crown's protection against judgment by the Inquisition. The Parlement of Paris registered the edict in February 25, 1599. Six

provincial parlements followed within a year. Rouen held out for registration until 1609.

Peace between Spain and France was established with the signing of the Peace of Vervins on May 2, 1598. The northern frontier of France was restored to the status it had in 1559. Calais and several small towns (Andres, Ballet, Dunellen's, La Capella, Le Cutlet, Monthly), which had been seized by a Spanish force in April 1596, were returned to France, while Spain's ownership of Cambria was established. In August 1599, Henry IV declared war against Savoy over the ownership of land on the border shared by the two countries. The success of the brief French military action resulted in the acquisition of Brises, Bogey, and Get between the Saone River and Geneva.[41] The end of this brief conflict initiated a period of ten years of peace for France both within and across its borders.

EPILOGUE

As the clock struck midnight ushering in the seventeenth century, a middle-aged Frenchman might have raised his glass and issued a toast, "To peace, prosperity, and a long life for our King!" That toast would be an expression of hope and extreme optimism, in view of past experience. Peace was something to which the average Frenchman had little exposure. The past half century was consumed by almost constant international warfare and internal civil conflict. Prosperity must have been regarded as a distant goal given the cost of the prolonged period of conflict and also the profligacy of the royalty, the nobility, and the church. The hope of longevity for a monarch was articulated to offset the preceding five decades, during which many French citizens would have been subjects of five different monarchs: Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, Henry III, and Henry IV.

Henry IV, who was said to be "the only king whose memory was cherished by the people,"[1] would lead France through the first decade of the seventeenth century. Although he had initially gained his reputation as a military commander, Henry IV would most often be referred to by contemporary writers as *le vert gallant* (the green gentleman), based on his energy, behavior, and promiscuity. It is known that Henry IV had at least fifty-six mistresses and fathered at least eleven illegitimate children.[2] Totally unsubstantiated rumors have included Samuel de Champlain, the father of New France (Canada) among Henry of Navarre's offspring.[3]

In 1599, Henry IV's marriage to Henry II's daughter Margaret (Margot) was annulled by Pope Clement VIII in response to the desires of both parties. The annulment was based on consanguinity and the fact that their union had been coerced. In October 1600, Henry IV entered into a marriage by proxy with Maria de' Medici in Florence. She was the niece of the Duke of Tuscany. Ten months later, on September 27, for the first time in eighty years a dauphin was born.

Henry's ex-wife, the legendary beauty yet scandalous Queen Margaret, who maintained her title even after her marriage was dissolved, continued with a series of amorous escapades. She reconciled with her former husband and his new wife, and participated in the care of their royal children. In her later years, Margaret nurtured the arts and was a benefactress of the poor of Paris, where she died in 1615.

With the aid of his prime advisor, the Huguenot Maximilien de

Béthune, who in 1606 was made Duke of Sully, Henry IV improved the tax system and restored financial stability to France. Henry initiated many building projects in Paris. He improved the galleries in the Louvre, which he had inherited in a dilapidated state. He ordered the building of the Pont Neuf, now Paris's oldest bridge, which was completed in 1607. It actually consists of two bridge spans, one from the north bank and the other from the south bank of the Seine River, joined at the square of Vert-Galant on the Île de Cité.

As early as 1598, Henry evidenced interest in the settlement of New France (Eastern Canada), which had been discovered by Jacques Cartier over sixty years earlier. The first permanent settlement was established by Samuel de Champlain at Quebec in 1608 with royal endorsement.

On the European continent the Peace of Vervins failed to erase the antipathy between France and Spain. In December 1601, Henry signed a truce with the Duke of Savoy, but Spain continued to provide support for the French nobles and towns with attitudes of uncompromising Catholicism, while France supplied the Dutch Protestant rebels with supplies and financial aid.[4]

The years 1607 and 1608 represent the apogee of Henry IV's reign.[5] In March 1609, the religious polarization was again brought into focus. That month John William, the Catholic Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, died leaving no heir. The duchy was strategically located westward between the Dutch United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands, and eastward with Germany. A variety of Protestant and Catholic noble families initiated claims. Rudolph II, the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor, asserted that he would hold the duchy until a Catholic successor was designated. Accordingly, he selected Archduke Leopold of Austria to occupy the land with a small military force in 1609.

Henry IV was concerned that Habsburg control of the region posed a threat to France's eastern frontier. He considered it essential that Jülich-Cleves-Berg remain a Protestant territory, and indicated that Catholicism was being invoked as an issue to augment the political power of Spain and the Habsburgs.

Henry's personal lust provided an added stimulus. He had become smitten with the fifteen-year-old Charlotte de Montmorency, and arranged for his cousin Henry II of Condé to marry her so she would be available to satisfy his own desires. Henry II eloped with his bride to Brussels, and when the Spanish authorities refused to return the couple, Henry IV threatened to support the Protestants in the Jülich-Cleves-Berg dispute. There was a sense that war would erupt between France and the Habsburgs,

In April 1610, a treaty was signed by Henry IV with Charles-

Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, who was to provide troops to attack the Spaniards in north Italy. The main French force was to attack the Low Countries through Champagne. While in the stage of preparations, Henry IV left the Louvre in a carriage to meet with ministers at the Arsenal on May 14. On the way, he was stabbed by a religious fanatic named Francis Ravaillac, who was enraged with the king's policy of toleration of Protestantism.

The king died that day, and, at age eight, Louis XIII rose to the throne with his mother serving as regent. Louis's legacy from his father was a stable, functional, and effective monarchy, which would form the basis for the future absolutism of the French kings. Louis reached the age of majority when he was fourteen. His reign and those of his successors would result in a dynasty of the House of Bourbon that would end with the French Revolution toward the end of the eighteenth century.

During the early years of Louis XIII's rule and the regency of Maria de' Medici, the Catholic nature of the royal court under the leadership of Concino Concini markedly increased. The extent to which this occurred led to the frustration of the Duke of Sully, who resigned as superintendent of finances in 1611. The Protestant princes fomented a revolt in 1617, and Louis XIII reacted decisively by asserting his authority. He exiled his mother and ordered the murder of Concini. Louis issued an edict that mandated the return to the Catholic Church of all its property, which had been seized before 1569.

In 1618, France's population, which was sixteen to seventeen million, surpassed that of Spain.[6] The kingdom was geographically compact, and, although the potential for religious conflict continued to exist, the Huguenots comprised only six to seven percent of the population.[7]

Evidence of Protestant rebellion against the king's policy during the summer of 1620 provoked a royal display of military power throughout southwest France. The city of Pau and the principality of Béarn, both Protestant strongholds, submitted without a battle. A year later, royal forces laid siege to the fortified town of St.-Jean-d'Angély and also Montauban. The former surrendered, while the siege at the latter failed and was lifted. In 1622, a military campaign directed at isolating La Rochelle, the center of Huguenot power, began. In April two to three thousand Protestant troops were killed and seven hundred were taken prisoner in the marshes of Pitou.[8]

In October, after a siege, a treaty was negotiated at Montpellier that required the Protestants to return control of almost one hundred fortified towns to the king, thereby isolating La Rochelle. In August 1627, the royalist army initiated a long siege of the city that lasted for

more than fourteen months. Before surrender took place on October 28, the city's population had been reduced by death or flight of the citizenry to about one-fifth its original size.[9] On June 16, 1629, the signing of the Peace of Alais formally ended the last of the French religious wars.

In Spain, Philip III and his chief minister, the Duke of Lerma, led that country during its period of decline in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Philip was, unlike his father, an ineffective monarch, and held in low esteem by the other European leaders. Nevertheless, Spain, at the onset of the seventeenth century, remained the most powerful country in Europe. Its population was 8,235,000, while that of Spanish Italy was 6,020,000;[10] it controlled a portion of the Netherlands; and it was the only European country with permanent settlements in the Americas—all of which were major financial assets. Subsequent to the 1598 Peace of Vervins, Spain would not be engaged against France for dominance in Europe until 1635.

In 1609, largely due to the country's economic decline, Philip III accepted a twelve-year truce with the United Provinces of the Netherlands. During the seventeenth century, Spain and Portugal remained Catholic and essentially exterminated any development of Protestantism. In 1609, about 275,000 Moors were expelled from Spain; most returned to North Africa.[11]

England emerged from the sixteenth century greatly strengthened as a political power. Subsequent to the defeat of the Spanish Armada, it was recognized for its maritime dominance. This strength translated into its development of permanent settlements in North America, first at Jamestown in 1607 and then in the West Indies and Massachusetts in the 1620s. The antagonism with Scotland was improved with the union of the two crowns, in 1603, when James VI of Scotland became James I of England. In 1604, James I signed a peace treaty with Spain.

* * *

Returning to the initial focus of this work, namely, the realm of medicine, the beginning of the early part of the seventeenth century witnessed little change. In France, the union of the barbers and surgeons significantly reduced the prestige of the Collège de St. Côme (College of Surgeons). No individual medical figure in France rose to the level of Ambroise Paré. Similarly, no major advances occurred in Spain or the Low Countries.

While a lecturer at the University of Padua, Adrian van den Spiegel (Spigelius) described the abdominal wall hernia and the caudate lobe of the liver, both of which are named for him. On the European continent, the greatest advances in surgery during the early

seventeenth century were attributed to Wilhelm Fabry, known as the father of German surgery. He has been compared to Paré, and was the first to recommend that amputation be performed above the level of gangrene. He was also the first to amputate the thigh and to remove a gallstone from a living patient.

Without question, the most significant medical advancement of the early part of the seventeenth century was the definition of the circulation of blood by William Harvey. *Excercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animaligus* (An Anatomical Exercise on the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Human Beings), which was published in Frankfort in 1628, stands beside Vesalius's *Fabrica* as a monumental medical breakthrough. Coincidentally, Harvey is associated with the two medical names that are central to this history. As noted previously, Harvey both studied at and received a medical degree from the University of Padua, the institution that lays claim to the birth of modern anatomy and the revolutionary work of Andreas Vesalius. Also, Harvey, who historian Fielding Garrison wrote, "has exerted a profounder influence upon modern medicine than that of any man save Vesalius,"[12] worked at Saint Bartholomew's Hospital in London, a facility that bears the same name as the dramatic religious massacre, during which Ambroise Paré was specifically protected by King Charles IX of France.

William Harvey's research and conclusions were monumental in that they were initiated using animal experiments from which it was induced that the heart was a muscular pump that propelled the blood in a continuous cycle, and his investigations included the first application of mathematical measurement and computation to a physiological process.

William Harvey conducted his monumental research during a relatively halcyon time. By contrast the contributions of his inventive medical predecessors, Andreas Vesalius and Ambroise Paré, evolved in fractious times, dominated by political or religious warfare. The unique conjunction of Vesalius and Paré as consultants marked a historical watershed, as they proffered their medical opinions in the care of a monarch who had sustained a fatal injury during "the tournament that transformed the world."

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TIMELINES

PERTINENT SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPEAN EVENTS

1494:	Charles VIII of France invades the kingdom of Naples.
1495:	Pope Alexander VI forms League of Venice (the Holy League) with Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I and the Duchy of Milan in opposition to France. France is defeated at battle of Fornovo and withdraws from Naples. The Italian Wars (1495–1559) commence.
1499:	Louis XII becomes king of France and seizes the kingdom of Milan.
1500:	France and Spain under Ferdinand I jointly gain control of the kingdom of Naples but disagree over its partition. War between France and Spain ensues.
1503:	Spain defeats France at the battles of Cerignola and the Garigliano River. Spain adds control of Naples to its established control of Sicily.
1508:	Pope Julius II forms the League of Cambria with Spain, France, and the Holy Roman Empire in order to restrain the Republic of Venice.
1509:	Louis XII overwhelms the Venetian army at the battle of Agnadello.
1511:	Pope Julius II forms an alliance (the Holy League) with Spain and England against France.
1512:	France defeats Spanish troops at battle of Ravenna, but is forced to leave when the Duchy of Milan is

	invaded by the Swiss. Spain proceeds to annex Navarre to Castile.
1513:	Pope Julius II dies and the Holy League collapses. France and the Republic of Venice are in control of all of northern Italy.
1515:	Francis I becomes king of France. He defeats an army (mainly Swiss) at the battle of Marignano. Milan capitulates and Francis is installed as Duke of Milan.
1516:	The Concordat of Bologna with Pope Leo X affirms the French king's control of appointments throughout France. Charles V becomes king of Spain, Castile, Navarre, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spanish America.
1517:	The Disputation of Martin Luther is nailed to the church door in Wittenberg.
1519:	Charles V becomes the Holy Roman Emperor.
1520:	Francis I and Henry VIII celebrate their treaty at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." Shortly thereafter, Charles V and Henry III sign the Treaty of Gravelines and align against France.
1522:	Charles V assigns Austrian Hapsburg land to his brother Ferdinand.
1525:	France invades Lombardy and suffers a major defeat at the battle of Pavia. Francis I is captured and his two oldest sons are exchanged as hostages.
1526:	The Treaty of Madrid is signed. France renounces claims within Italy and cedes Burgundy to Charles V. Francis I repudiates the Treaty of

	Madrid and forms the League of Cognac with the pope, the Duchy of Milan, the Republic of Venice, and the Republic of Florence.
1527:	Charles V sacks Rome.
1529:	The Treaty of Cambria between Charles V and Francis I and the Peace of Bologna between Charles V and Pope Clement VII allow France to retain Burgundy and give Charles V rights to northern Italy.
1532:	Charles V leads troops against the Turks, who attacked Vienna. Battles extending through 1541 result in Charles V's recapture of Tunis and Algiers.
1533:	Henry, second son of Francis I, marries Catherine de' Medici.
1536:	Henry becomes the dauphin after the death of Francis I's oldest son, Francis III. Italian astrologer Luca Gaurica predicts Henry's future and his death. Francis I, allies with Ottoman leader Suleiman I, attacks Milan, and is defeated.
1538:	The Truce of Nice ends the Italian War of 1536–1538.
1542–1546:	The next segment of the Italian Wars takes place. France attacks Luxembourg and Perpignan (part of Spain) and is repelled.
1543:	France is victorious at the battle of Ceresole. Philip II of Spain marries Princess Maria Manuela of Portugal. She dies in 1545 after giving birth to Don Carlos.
1544:	Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and King Henry VIII of England declare war against France. Charles V advances to within 100 miles of Paris.

	The Peace of Crèpy (Crespy) obliges France to aid Charles V against the Turks and the Protestants.
1547:	Henry II succeeds his father as the king of France.
	Charles V defeats the Schmalkaldic League army at Muhlberg.
1552:	French and German Lutherans declare war against Charles V. France captures Toul and withstands a siege at Metz.
1553:	Charles V attacks Picardy and conquers Thérouanne and Hesdin.
	France gains control of Corsica. Genoa becomes allied with Charles V and the Holy Roman Empire.
1554:	French troops are defeated at the battle of Marciano.
	Spaniards take control of Siena.
	Phillip II marries Mary Tudor (Bloody Mary), queen of England.
1555:	Charles V abdicates in favor of his brother Ferdinand I, who becomes Holy Roman Emperor. Philip II gains control of the Spanish empire, the Low Countries, Naples, Sicily, Milan, and Franche-Comte.
1556:	The Spanish army invades the papal states. Ostia is captured.
1557:	England declares war against France, while the French are defeated by the Spanish army at the battle of Saint-Quentin.
1558:	France captures Calais. Henry II's son Francis marries Mary Stuart, queen of Scots. Queen Mary (Tudor) of England dies and is succeeded by Queen Elizabeth I.
1559:	The Peace of Cateau-Cambrèsis is signed.
	Elizabeth of Valois marries Philip II.
	Henry II dies.

	Margaret of Valois marries Emmanuel Philibert.
	Francis II is crowned king of France.
1560:	The Turks defeat the Spanish fleet at Tripoli.
	Francis II dies.
1561:	Charles IX is crowned king of France.
	Turin and three small towns are transferred from France to the Duke of Savoy.
1562:	The Edict of Saint-Germain endorses religious toleration. France's first religious war begins with the battle at Dreux.
1563:	The Treaty of Ambroise ends the first religious war.
1565:	The Conference at Bayonne between Catherine de' Medici and her daughter Elizabeth takes place.
1567:	The Council of Troubles is established in the Netherlands.
	The second War of Religion begins in France.
	Don Carlos of Spain dies.
	Elizabeth of Valois dies.
1568:	The Duke of Alba massacres troops led by Louis of Nassau at Jemmingen.
	The Treaty of Longiumeau recognizes Protestantism. This is followed by France's third War of Religion. It includes the battle of Jarmac between French Protestants and royal troops.
1569:	The Moors are expelled from Granada.
1570:	The Edict of Saint-Germain ends the third French War of Religion.
	Philip II of Spain marries Anna of Austria.
	Charles IX of France marries Elizabeth of Austria.

1571:	Christians win a decisive battle over the Turks at the Gulf of Lepanto.
1572:	Spanish troops destroy the Netherlands towns of Mechelen, Zutphen, and Naarden, and capture Haarlem.
1572:	Henry II's daughter Margaret marries Henry of Navarre. St. Bartholomew's Day massacre takes place and France's fourth War of Religion begins. It ends a year later with the Peace of La Rochelle.
1573:	The Duke of Alba is replaced as commander of Netherlands. Henry of Anjou is crowned king of Poland.
1574:	The Count of Montgomery, leading French Protestants, is defeated by royalists at Domfront. He is captured and later decapitated in Paris. Charles IX dies and Henry III is crowned king of France.
1576:	Spanish troops sack Ghent. The fifth French War of Religion begins.
1577:	Spanish troops leave the Netherlands. The sixth French War of Religion takes place.
1579:	The Treaty of Utrecht states the northern provinces of the Netherlands' pledge of mutual support against Spain. Portuguese troops are defeated by Muslims in Morocco. King Sebastian of Portugal is killed in the battle. The seventh French War of Religion takes place.
1580:	Philip II is proclaimed king of Portugal.

	Emmanuel Philibert dies and is succeeded by his son, Charles Emmanuel I.
1581:	The Netherlands declares its independence.
1582:	A French incursion into Portugal fails.
1585:	The Treat of Nonsuch allies England and the Netherlands.
1587:	The eighth French War of Religion, known as the “War of the Three Henries,” takes place.
1588:	The Spanish Armada is destroyed by the English fleet.
1589:	Catherine de’ Medici dies. Henry III is murdered.
1594:	Henry of Navarre is crowned King Henry IV of France.
1595:	French troops defeat Spaniards at Fontaine-Francaise. Spanish troops are expelled from Brittany and Marseilles. France gains control of Burgundy.
1596:	The English and the Dutch gain control of Cadiz.
1597:	France regains Picardy.
1598:	Treaty of Vervins ends the war between Spain and France. The Edict of Nantes ends eight French wars of religion. Philip II dies and his son is crowned Philip III.

COLONIZATION OF THE AMERICAS

1492:	Columbus, sailing for Spain, reaches landfall on San Salvador (Dominica Republic).
1493–1496:	Columbus's second voyage makes landfall on Cuba.
1494:	Treaty of Tordesillas is signed.
1497:	Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) sails for England and reaches land at Cape Breton Island (Newfoundland).
1498:	Columbus's third voyage reaches land in South America (Venezuela).
1500:	Juan de la Cosa's manuscript map showing 11 Spanish and 5 English standards on locations in the Western Hemisphere. Gaspar Corte Real sails for Portugal, reaching land on Newfoundland. Pedro Alvares Cabral sails for Portugal, reaching landfall at Porto Seguro, Brazil, and starts a colony in 1532.
1502–1503:	Columbus's fourth voyage reaches land at Honduras and Panama.
1513:	Vasco Nunez de Balboa crosses the isthmus of Panama to the Pacific Ocean.
1519:	Hernan Cortes sails from Cuba to the Yucatan Penisula and claims land for Spain. Vera Cruz is captured in 1519.
1520:	Cortes marches to Tenochtitlan(Mexico City), which falls to the Spaniards.
1524:	Giovanni Verrazano sails for France from North America,

	journies along the East Coast from the northern part of Florida to Newfoundland, and enters New York harbor and the Hudson River.
1532:	Francisco Pizarro, flying under a Spanish flag, conquers the Incas of Peru.
1533:	Jacques Cartier, sailing for France, travels along the Gaspay Peninsula, Canada.
1534:	Jacques Cartier's second voyage enters the St. Lawrence River and travels one thousand miles upriver as far as present-day Montreal and winters at Quebec.
1539:	Hernando de Soto, under the Spanish flag, sails from Cuba, lands at Tampa Bay and, after marching through Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, reaches the Mississippi River in 1541.
1540:	Hernando de Alarcon, under the Spanish flag, sails up the Gulf of California and enters the Colorado River.
1540–1542:	Francisco Vasquez de Coronado travels inland as far as present-day Kansas.
1541:	Jacques Cartier embarks on his third voyage to Canada.
1562:	Huguenots dispatch Jean Ribault to establish a colony in the southeastern part of North America. Fort Charlesfort is built at Port Royal, South Carolina, but is not maintained.
1564:	French Huguenots send Rene de Laudonniere to colonize an area north of present-day St. Augustine, Florida, as a buffer against the Spanish. The colony is named Fort Caroline in honor of Charles IX. The French are defeated in battle

	with the Spanish under Pedro Menendez de Aviles at Matanzas Inlet.
1565:	Spaniards establish a base and name it St. Augustine.
1576–1578:	Three English expeditions are conducted by Martin Frobisher in search of a northwest sea passage to the Pacific Ocean. He proceeds no farther than Hudson Strait.
1577–1580:	Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation includes anchoring in a bay in California that still bears his name, and he takes possession of the surrounding land, which he names New Albion and claims it for for England.
1585–1587:	Three English expeditions by John Davis are undertaken in search of a northwest passage.
1585:	Sir Richard Grenville leaves 108 colonists at Roanoke Island (Virginia). Colonists returned to England in 1586. Grenville leaves a fifteen-man holding force. All die and the colony is lost.
1586:	Sir Francis Drake raids and destroys St. Augustine.
1587:	Sir Walter Raleigh sends 110 colonists to establish the "Cittie of Raleigh in Virginea," which is settled on Roanoke Island, but all perish.

MEDICAL MASTERS

1510:	Ambroise Paré is born (specific date unknown).
1514:	Andreas Vesalius is born on December 31.
1530:	Vesalius matriculates at University of Louvain.
1533:	Paré moves to Hotel Die in Paris for studies. Vesalius begans his studies at University of Paris.
1536:	Vesalius returns to Louvain to complete medical studies. He publishes his first work comparing medicines used by Arabs with those of the Greeks.
1537:	Paré begins a part-time practice in Paris as a barber-surgeon and his career as a military surgeon. At Turin, Paré substitutes balm for cauterization or boiling oil to seal wounds. Vesalius arrives in Padua to continue his medical studies. He is immediately named demonstrator of anatomy and, shortly thereafter, professor of anatomy.
1538:	Vesalius publishes *Tabulae anatomicae sex* and a revised edition of Guinter's *Institutiones anatomicae*.
1539:	Vesalius publishes *Venesection Epistle*.
1541:	Paré qualifies as a barber-surgeon.
1543:	Vesalius publishes *De Humani corporis fabrica Libri septum*. He also publishes *Epitome*. Vesalius joins the retinue of Charles V as a physician.

1545: Paré publishes his first book on wounds.
Vesalius performs the earliest successful operation for osteomyelitis of the lower femur.

1546: Vesalius publishes *China Root Epistle*.

1547: Vesalius revives drainage of empyema of the chest.

1550: Paré first describes podalic version (foot-first delivery).

1552: Paré first performs vascular ligation during amputation.
Henry II bestows on Paré the title of surgeon-in-ordinary.

1553: Paré is captured and escapes at battle of Hesdin.

1554: Paré is admitted to Confrérie-de-Saint Côme.

1556: Vesalius becames part of Philip II's retinue.

1557: Paré is in attendance at the battle of Saint-Quentin.

1559: Paré and Vesalius attend to Henry II's injuries after the joust.

1560: Paré performs the autopsy on Francis II.

1561: Paré's *Anatonomie Universalle du Corps Humani* is published. Also, *La Methode* is published.

1562: Vesalius is involved in the care of Don Carlos and is appointed the king's premier-surgeon.

1564: Paré publishes *Dix Livres de Chirurgie.*
Vesalius leaves Spain to visit Jerusalem. He dies on the island of Zante on October 15, during his return voyage.

1568: Paré publishes *Traicté De La Peste, De La Petite Verolle & Rougeolle: Avec Une brefue Description de la Lepre.*

1572: Paré publishes *Cinci Livres de*

	Chirurgie and *Deux Livres de Chirurgie*.
1574:	Paré performs the autopsy on Charles IX.
1575:	Paré publishes the first edition of *Les Oeuvres*.
1582:	Paré publishes *Discovrs D'Ambroise Paré, Conseiller, Et Premier Chirvrgien de Roy. A sçauoir, De la Mvmie, De La Licorna, Des-Venins, Et De La Peste. Auec vne table des plus notables matieres continues esdits Discours*.
1585:	Paré publishes the most definitive edition of *Les Oeuvres*.
1590	Paré dies in Paris on December 20.

THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PAPACY

(Dates signify papal reigns)

Alexander VI	(1492–1503)
Pius III	(1503–1503)
Julius II	(1503–1513)
Leo X	(1513–1521)
Adrian VI	(1522–1523)
Clement VII	(1523–1534)
Paul III	(1534–1549)
Julius III	(1550–1555)
Marcellus II	(1555–1555)
Paul IV	(1555–1559)
Pius IV	(1559–1565)
St. Pius V	(1566–1572)
Gregory XIII	(1572–1585)
Sixtus V	(1585–1590)
Urban VII	(1590–1590)
Gregory XIV	(1590–1591)
Innocent IX	(1591–1591)
Clement VIII	(1592–1605)

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